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SCHOOLS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD CITIZENS

SCHOOLS *and the* DEVELOPMENT *of* GOOD CITIZENS

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THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION STUDY

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To Joe

A friend, a creative genius, a kindly critic, an educator.

Foreword

The Detroit Citizenship Education Study was conducted from February, 1945, to February, 1950. Sponsored by the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University, the Study grew out of a concern on the part of many people that the level of citizenship in this country could be improved.

Over a long period of time, the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University have had a definite interest in citizenship education, for the development of good citizens has been considered as the major function of tax-supported educational institutions. In 1944, this long-time interest of the schools and the university coincided with a similar interest of the William Volker Charities Fund, Inc. Out of informal conversations at that time about problems of citizenship education with Mr. Harold W. Luhnow, President of the Volker Fund, there arose a mutual desire to get a more definite statement concerning needed exploration in the field of civic education.

Dr. David D. Henry, the then chief executive of Wayne University, consequently called together in the spring of 1944 a small group of interested persons and asked them to prepare a proposal for a citizenship education project. The Committee consisted of Waldo Lessenger, Dean of the College of Education, Chairman; the late C. C. Barnes, Director of Social Studies; Stanley E. Dimond, Supervisor of Social Studies; Manley E. Irwin, Supervising Director of Instruction; and Earl C. Kelley, Professor of Secondary Education.

This committee met regularly for several months and in the fall of 1944 submitted a plan for a citizenship study which was approved by the Volker Fund and the Detroit Board of Education. The plan, in brief, combined a cooperative attack on the citizen-

ship problems of several pilot schools with an attempt to evaluate the effects of specific citizenship education procedures.

The nucleus of a staff for the Study formally began work on February 5, 1945; and work with the participating schools began in September, 1945, in the first peace-time school days since the start of World War II.

Eight schools were selected to participate in the Study by the planning committee together with the chief administrative officers for each division of the Detroit Public Schools. Six of the schools had volunteered to participate in the Study; two were invited to participate in order to include two additional types of residential areas. Only one of the schools had ever before participated in a long-range, cooperative, educational research project: that was Northwestern High School, which had been an associate member of the Michigan Study of Secondary Education.

A central office was maintained at Wayne University. Originally, five of the central Staff members were Detroit school teachers and three were employed from institutions outside Detroit. Because of a death, resignations, and lack of funds, the Staff at the end of the Study consisted of seven persons, all of whom had formerly been teachers in the Detroit schools. Four of these were with the Study during its entire five years.

The purpose of the Study was to seek ways of increasing the understanding, interest, competence, and participation of boys and girls in the activities of good citizens so that they would try to be active citizens throughout their lives. To fulfill this purpose the Study procedures focused attention chiefly on the eight participating schools. The primary concern was to discover whether desirable changes could actually be put into practice in the participating schools. The Study was not solely interested in finding out what was "wrong" with citizenship education and then making recommendations. It wished to determine the need for change and then attempt to get the needed changes into actual school practice.

Staff members worked with the school faculties on a consultative-cooperative basis. Each school was expected to strive for improvements in its already existing citizenship program; each

school was to be largely autonomous. The Study was committed to the principle that the schools were dissimilar and that these dissimularities needed to be honored. Consequently, Staff members tried to stimulate citizenship activities; but each school was to determine the nature of its own program and the extent of its participation in the Study.

Two aspects of this cooperative method were emphasized: working on problems that were important to a school and encouraging widespread faculty participation. At all times, the effort was to ascertain the school citizenship problems that seemed important to teachers and then to work toward the solution of those problems. Frequently this required deepening of insights, obtaining different viewpoints, and acquiring new information until the problems were solved or the problem itself was redefined.

Always, faculty participation received major emphasis, but by the end of the Study participation by children, parents, and community leaders had increased greatly. Basic was the provision that teachers were to have opportunity to share in the development of the school's citizenship program.

Certain resources were made available to the schools. Staff members served as full-time consultants on curriculum development. Part-time consultants were brought to the schools as the need arose. Special materials and equipment were purchased when faculty groups decided that this assistance was required.

Work groups were used constantly. Teachers came together for one or two-day sessions to work on citizenship problems. Substitute teachers were usually provided on these occasions. At other extended meetings, lunches, teas, or dinners were supplied. Scholarships were provided some teachers during the first two summers to enable them to attend summer workshops. These procedures were employed to give teachers time in which they could actually have a real opportunity to work together on problems.[1]

From the experiences gained in working with these eight par-

[1] For a fuller statement of the history of the Study see Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952), Part 1, especially.

ticipating schools and out of the activities which developed through the shared thinking of the many participants, this final report of the Study has been prepared. The report is really the product of many persons. The more than three hundred teachers who made the Study thrive—because of their interest, enthusiasm and devotion to children—deserve the major credit for the benefits achieved. The school administrators who demonstrated that rare combination of courage and intelligence which is necessary if school programs are to be altered also made an immeasurable contribution. The central Staff by their tireless efforts, their loyalty to the purpose of the Study, and their creativeness are worthy of special commendation.

To the many friends, colleagues, parents and pupils who have aided me in the conduct of the Study, I am deeply grateful. While I have written the words that are in this volume, the writing could not have been done without their great activity.

I wish to record here a special word of gratitude to Elmer F. Pflieger and Miller R. Collings, for without their assistance the statistical portions of this book could not have been completed.

STANLEY E. DIMOND

November, 1952

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CHAPTER ONE

The Making of Good Citizens

Democracy requires alert, informed, interested, honest citizens, citizens who are privileged, indeed obligated, to participate intelligently in determining its destiny. The training of these citizens has always been of vital importance, but never more important than at the present time.[1]

THE NEED

THE DEVELOPMENT of good citizens is the most important function of the nation's schools. Without well-informed, active, honest, loyal citizens the American way of life cannot survive. Schools are and must continue to be society's great instrument for the training of youth in the activities of the good citizen.

Why is the training of citizens so important, so especially important at the present time?

The twentieth century has been one of turmoil, with two world wars and a depression of great magnitude. Powerful social forces have been at work – nationalism, industrialism, democracy, totalitarianism. The events of the past fifty years have stirred many people to search for ways to prevent in the future catastrophes like these which have been so prominent in the first half of this century. In this search, thoughtful citizens have stressed the need for improved citizenship education programs. They feel that only a more thoughtful, active citizenry can solve the complex social problems which now confront mankind. These citizens urge improved pro-

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study of the Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University Supported by the William Volker Charities Fund, Inc.* ([Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, Wayne University, 1945]), p. 1.

grams of citizenship education because of the pressing need for wise decisions on the many crucial problems before the public.

LACK OF INTELLIGENT PARTICIPATION

Never before in the history of our country has it been possible for the citizens to influence public action so readily. Governmental executives are constantly gauging their decisions by the state of public opinion. Writing letters to legislators grows in popularity. Even though the public opinion polls were somewhat discredited in the public mind after the 1948 Presidential election, they still are available to express the reactions of the public generally. Numerous other means of two-way communication between legislators and citizens are available. Public opinion has become so powerful in our government that it is more important than ever for citizens to have an understanding of, and good attitudes toward, the critical problems on every level, whether international, national, state, or local.

Do we have such thoughtful, wise, participating citizens today? Only conjectures can be made about the thoughtfulness or wisdom of citizens. In moments of crisis, commentators have praised the great common sense of the American public, but following certain elections or after specific actions of the Congress or the President there has been no dearth of criticism concerning the shortsightedness of great segments of public opinion. There are, quite naturally, in our republic, important differences in viewpoint concerning the wisdom displayed by the citizens. Those who place their faith in democracy, however, believe that the people can be trusted to make wise decisions if they can have access to information and if public education keeps pace with the complex social changes.

Common sense, wisdom, thoughtfulness, or intelligence are futile, though, if citizens do not participate. Civic lethargy is a disease that can destroy our way of life. A resort to conjecture is not necessary in an evaluation of citizen participation. There is abundant evidence that too many citizens neglect their civic duties.

Each election brings forth speeches and writings pleading with voters to get out and vote. The failure of many citizens to vote

is frequently used to indict programs of civic education, for in a democracy the voting record is one objective measure that can be applied to determine the quality of citizenship participation.

Consider the voting record of the American people. In the 1944 Presidential election, out of an estimated eighty-eight million registered voters, forty-eight million persons voted — 53 per cent. In the 1948 Presidential election, 51 per cent of the nation's eligible voters cast their ballots. The largest recorded vote in a Presidential election was in 1952, when 61 per cent of the adult citizens voted — more than sixty million people voted that year. The percentage of voters was about the same as in the 1940 election. Yet in these hotly contested elections many people did not vote — 47 per cent in 1944, 49 per cent in 1948, 39 per cent in 1952.

Presidential elections are, of course, much more popular than other elections. In many Congressional, state, and local elections the percentage of those voting is much smaller. This contrast is illustrated by the difference between two Detroit elections—the two having the worst and the best voting records. In the spring primary election, in February, 1945 (an election for Board of Education members and for judges), only 7.44 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls. The best Detroit election was the 1940 Presidential election, when 87.85 per cent of the registered adults voted —about 2 per cent more than voted on November 7, 1952.

The record seems clear. There are many eligible citizens in each election who do not vote. By the simple, objective criterion of voting, it appears that citizenship education programs need to be improved. Dr. George H. Gallup, after reviewing the voting record together with evidence on lack of political information, concluded that "something must be seriously wrong with a form of education which permits this situation to exist."[1] Other writers also have used this evidence to demonstrate the sad condition of American civic education. Such blanket indictments have caused serious concern to many educators.

Without minimizing the responsibility of schools to develop ac-

[1] George H. Gallup, "They Want to Be Good Citizens," *National Municipal Review,* XXXVI (1947), 27. Also in *The Reader's Digest,* LII (1948), 120.

tive citizens, one consideration should be discussed: voting records need to be analyzed for clues to the factors that cause people to stay away from the polls. Over-all figures may not be so valuable as more detailed figures. For example, studies have shown that in Detroit the largest percentage of voting occurs in the higher-income residential areas, while the least voting occurs in lower-income blighted areas. Participation in elections seems to be related to economic status.

Voting records seem to be correlated also with geographic location. An analysis of the 1944 Presidential election reveals that, in Illinois, 72 per cent of those eligible voted; in Michigan, 59 per cent; in Louisiana, 24 per cent; in South Carolina, only 10 per cent.

Gosnell summarizes the factors that influence nonvoting as follows:

> Investigators have demonstrated once again that popular participation in elections in the United States is associated with economic status, educational level, sex, place of birth, size of place lived in, age, religion, and political information and knowledge. The lowest voting records were found among the poor, those who had not gone above grade school, women, native whites of native parentage, Protestants and those who did not go to church, those who lived on farms, and those who were ignorant regarding politics . . . . Popular participation in elections is lowest in the South, where the situation has been most one-sided. . . . In American politics, the election of an important executive attracts the most attention.[1]

Although there has been an increase in the proportion of the adults who vote in the past two decades, and although there are discernible factors apart from citizenship education that influence voting, it seems reasonable to conclude that schools and other educative forces have not yet succeeded in motivating and training all types of citizens to be intelligent, habitual voters.

[1] H. F. Gosnell, "Mobilizing the Electorate," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* CCLIX (1948), 98, 102. Quoted with permission of the author and *The Annals.*

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME

During the war years, youthful crime and delinquency constantly received public attention. Family life had been disrupted by the war: more mothers were working at gainful employment, and many fathers were in military service. Some young people suddenly received increases in their own incomes. There was increased mobility of families—particularly from farms to cities. As a result, the stability of many young people was weakened, with a consequent increase in juvenile delinquency and a corresponding public insistence that schools do a more effective job of citizenship training.

Statistics on youthful crime and delinquency are somewhat unreliable because of changes occurring from time to time in the interpretation by local authorities of what is required for an arrest or a court case. Granting the difficulty in gathering accurate statistics, we still find the upsurge in juvenile delinquency clearly marked during the second world war as shown by the following table:

TABLE 1 [1]

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, 1938–47

Year	Police Arrests	Juvenile Court Cases
1938	35,804	50,451
1939	38,043	54,305
1940	35,332	52,278
1941	37,070	56,810
1942	37,922	61,856
1943	47,884	82,879
1944	46,690	80,716
1945	49,566	84,694
1946	37,833	73,448
1947	34,376	62,911

These figures show the rise of youthful delinquency during the war years of 1943, 1944, and 1945. Basing his calculations on these

[1] Edward E. Schwartz, "Statistics of Juvenile Delinquency in the United States," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLXI (1949), 11. Table 1 is based on reports from 76 urban juvenile courts and all fingerprint records received by the FBI of children under eighteen. Reprinted with permission of *The Annals*.

and other estimates, Schwartz concluded that "about six in every thousand children under eighteen years of age were involved in juvenile court delinquency."[1]

Although juvenile delinquency became prominent during the war years (at the time this Study was initiated) crime has been a major problem throughout the twentieth century. In the middle thirties, the American Bar Association was estimating the national crime bill at $13,000,000,000 a year. Almost twenty years ago, Warden Lewis E. Lawes, of Sing Sing prison, pointed out the steadily decreasing average age of criminals in the death house at Sing Sing. Today it is estimated that of every ten persons now in prisons and reformatories, four are between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five.

The Attorney General of the United States stated in 1950 that "31 per cent of all persons committed to federal prisons last year were in the age group between eighteen and twenty-four years; and what is even more disturbing is the fact that 70 per cent of all first offenders brought to trial in federal courts for criminal offenses were from this age group. The crime problem of our country is essentially a youth problem."[2]

Schools cannot escape the fact that most of these youthful offenders were at some time under the guidance of some teacher. To a degree, crime and delinquency represent a unique failure of citizenship education programs. They also point up serious flaws in our social structure.

CONFLICT

The times in which we live are characterized by conflict. Strife appears in many avenues of life. Although conflict and strife are not necessarily evil, for struggle against great odds has frequently been beneficial, a democracy must always be sensitive to those conflicts which are destructive of individual worth and dignity. Our nation was founded on a basically religious ideal that each person

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[2] National Education Association of the United States, *Fifth National Conference on Citizenship* (Washington: The National Education Association, 1950), p. 77.

is important and that brotherhood is to be valued. The extent of conflict today is symptomatic of a threat to this ideal. Increasingly, citizenship programs are being considered inadequate because they have not reduced the tension between individuals and groups. The nature of some of these conflicts warrants brief discussion.

Relations with minority groups represent a chief area of conflict. Detroit, in 1943, had a race riot. More than thirty people were killed; scores were injured; there was much property damage. Sporadic incidents have occurred in other parts of the nation at other times. Discrimination and injustice are common. Many Negroes, Jews, and some nationality groups have been denied elementary citizenship rights.

Labor-management strife reflects another type of conflict. Labor leaders and management representatives have had much difficulty in working together on the development of contracts. Contract interpretation, in specific cases, has been arduous. There have been conflicts within labor unions and between labor unions. There have been conflicts among management representatives because of their differing views as to the proper types of labor-management relations. In the essential struggle to decrease the disparity between great wealth and abject poverty, many prized human values have been damaged.

War represents another conflict that has dominated man's life. The destruction of human and material resources during the twentieth century has become so devastating that all sincere people seek for ways to prevent war; at the same time, they seek to ameliorate the effects of past wars. The preamble to UNESCO speaks eloquently: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."

Indications that conflict is disruptive to harmonious living are to be found in the divorce rates and in the number of cases of mental illnesses. During the past ten years the ratio of divorces to marriages has increased steadily. Frequently, it is stated that out of twenty children now in school, one will spend some time in a mental hospital.

Even a cursory examination of the extent of conflict in modern society points to the necessity for schools to become more concerned about the nature of personal and group relations. Efforts to improve intercultural teaching, to develop better economic understanding, to analyze international tensions, to improve family life, and to maintain good mental health indicate ways in which schools are striving to respond to this need. These ways cannot be divorced from the political phases of citizenship education.

THREATS TO DEMOCRACY

Another major reason for attempting to improve citizenship-education programs is the fear that democracy may lose in the struggle with totalitarian ideologies. Many adults have been genuinely worried that children may fail to understand and cherish the democratic way of life. The threats to democracy seem more ominous than in earlier generations.

This fear is not without foundation. In the past hundred years, until the rise of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin, democracy was quite generally taken for granted in this country. The assumption was that democracy would continue to flourish and expand, but the twentieth-century dictator has destroyed this illusion. As the fallacy of our previous thinking became apparent, there came the realization that these dictators had become skilled in perverting the minds and emotions of people. Understandably, citizens wanted to know whether our children were developing loyalty to the American way of life.

As World War II progressed, reports from military authorities attested to the basic loyalty of our young men and women. There were, however, disquieting rumors. The idea gained general acceptance that the mass of our GI's did not really have a clear understanding of the basic ideological differences involved in the war. When peace came, stories were circulated that our troops on foreign soil were not able to do a good job of explaining democracy. They talked more of gadgets than of rights, more of refrigerators than of individual worth, more of automobiles than of the general welfare.

During and since World War II, the loyalty probes by the FBI and Congressional committees together with the trials of individuals for various types of Communist activity have tended to increase the anxiety and insecurity of many citizens.

Most people recognize that the public school exists to perpetuate and promote our democratic way of life. They want assurance that schools are performing this fundamental task effectively. They are zealous in their urging that schools seek better ways of teaching democracy.

Because of the lack of intelligent citizen participation, the extent of crime, the inharmonious relations of people, and the zeal to preserve democracy, improved citizenship education programs have been urged by many people.

IMPROVING CITIZENSHIP PROGRAMS

To point out the need for improved programs of civic education does not imply that schools have not been trying to develop adequate citizenship programs. Exactly the opposite is true. Schools have considered citizenship education as a major responsibility. They have been evolving citizenship programs for a long time. As currently practiced, they are usually good programs.

As described in *Learning the Ways of Democracy,* these programs consist of (1) courses of study where the nature of democracy is taught; (2) teaching methods that provide classroom experiences in democratic living; (3) student life within the school but outside the classroom where pupils learn by practicing democracy (4) participation of school youth in the civic life of the community; (5) participation of youth in helping to determine school administrative policies; and (6) evaluation of the results of the citizenship program.[1]

The exact nature of these programs may vary from school to school, but most schools have given long and serious consideration to the development of their citizenship programs. In terms of the

[1] Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy* (Washington: National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, 1940), p. 465.

needs of the times, they may not be as good as they can or should be, but by and large they are programs that represent the best thought of American educators.

Knowing the tremendous need for better programs but aware that many sincere, capable, and conscientious educators have built the present ones, what would be the best way to develop a better citizenship education program? This was the problem that confronted those who planned the Detroit Citizenship Education Study.

There are, in general, five ways by which educators have attempted to improve citizenship education programs: philosophical pronouncements, research and investigations, improvement of teaching materials, spread of good practices, and cooperative curriculum projects. While these methods are not strictly independent and discrete, they do provide a convenient classification.

PHILOSOPHICAL PRONOUNCEMENTS

Philosophical pronouncements have been widely used for a long time as a way to improve schools. Many articles, speeches, and books have been prepared to tell schools what they should be doing or how they could do a better job. Individuals, commissions, and organized educational groups have found this to be a convenient and quite effective way to initiate improvements.

A few examples will illustrate. The Educational Policies Commission has published three volumes on education's functions in American democracy.[1] These volumes provide a sound philosophical framework to give direction to public schools. The methodology is to present ideas on the functions of education based on the thinking and deliberations of America's foremost educators, with the hope that responsible school people and lay citizens will be stimulated and guided to improve schools.

[1] National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*, 1937; *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*, 1938; *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy*, 1941. The three volumes are now available in one book, *Policies for Education in American Democracy* (Washington: The Commission, 1946).

In earlier days other national groups had used the same procedure. The Committee of Ten of the National Education Association (1892), the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association (1896), the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association (1907), and the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1913)—all prepared influential reports that changed in some degree the nature of civic education programs.

From these and other publications, it seems clear that citizenship education programs might be improved by writing philosophical pronouncements about citizenship education. The method is well established and frequently used.

RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATIONS

Research and investigations have provided another procedure for bringing about improvement of citizenship education programs. The method, concisely stated, is to get at the facts in a situation or to compare the effects of applying two or more hypotheses in an experimental situation. The attempt is to apply the scientific method to educational problems. Some notable examples of this technique can be cited.

One of the most recent research projects was the Miami experiment, under the direction of Charles C. Peters, in which a democratic action-centered method of teaching proved more successful than traditional methods.[1]

An influential investigation was made by Howard E. Wilson in 1936 as a part of the New York Regents' Inquiry.[2] An examination was made of the social competence of pupils and of related school practices. Another important investigation was conducted by the Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges of the teaching of American history.[3]

[1] Charles C. Peters, *Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training* (Coral Gables: Miami University, 1948).

[2] Howard E. Wilson, *Education for Citizenship* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938).

[3] Edgar B. Wesley, *American History in Schools and Colleges* (New York: the MacMillan Company, 1944).

Since about 1940, research and investigation have been employed at an accelerated pace. The scientific approach to education has had great influence on citizenship programs.

IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHING MATERIALS

The improvement of teaching materials is another effective avenue toward the development of good citizens. It probably is safe to state that during the past twenty-five years or longer many of the improvements in citizenship education have come about through improved teaching materials. The publication of Dunn's *Community Civics* in 1917 helped bring about a significant change in the formal social studies program of the American secondary school. Similarly, the development of carefully prepared current-affairs materials by responsible commercial publishers has brought about a profound improvement in the quality of such instruction in schools.

Similar changes have been occurring more recently in the area of visual and auditory instructional materials. Thus, the preparation of improved instructional materials is an effective way to improve citizenship education.[1]

SPREAD OF GOOD PRACTICES

The attempt to get more teachers and schools to use desirable citizenship practices has been an effective way of improving citizenship education programs. Two publications of the Educational Policies Commission illustrate this method. *Learning the Ways of Democracy* was essentially a description of actual school practices showing some promise of effectiveness. *Education for ALL American Youth* was a report which brought together in a new synthesis good practices that are found in various places in the country.[2]

[1] A civic education project designed specifically for the preparation of instructional materials is being conducted at Cambridge, Massachusetts, under the direction of John J. Mahoney and Henry W. Holmes. See Educational Research Corporation, *The Civic Education Project* (Cambridge: Educational Research Corporation, 1949). The materials prepared are published by Comet Press Books, 11 West 42nd St., New York 36, N.Y.

[2] Educational Policies Commission, *Education for ALL American Youth* (Washington: National Education Association and the American Association of School

By means of these reports teachers and administrators were made aware of many potentially useful ideas and were encouraged to adapt them to local needs and problems.

Much of the effectiveness of current supervisory practice comes from the spreading of a good practice from one school to another. Similar values are obtained from some teachers' conventions, magazines, and yearbooks. Efforts to insure that good practices in one school are used widely by other schools have been a serious concern of educators.[1]

COOPERATIVE-CURRICULUM PROJECTS

The cooperative-curriculum projects make use of a different approach to improve school programs. This approach enlists the participation of teachers, principals, pupils, parents — all persons involved in the educative process. Proponents of this approach insist that real change will take place only to the degree that these persons in actual school situations try to change. To a degree, use is made of the other four methods when they are appropriate in the situation. The cooperative-curriculum projects have been evolving since the early thirties. They were first widely employed during and after the Eight-year Study of the Progressive Education Association, which was initiated in 1932.[2] The method was used in the Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum[3] and in the Southern Study.[4] The cooperative-curriculum approach has been the method most frequently employed by supervisors and principals in recent years for the improvement of instruction. This

Administrators, 1944; revised, 1952, as *Education for ALL American Youth: A Further Look*).

[1] Reports of the Columbia University Citizenship Project indicate that spreading good practices is a central feature of this project. See Citizenship Education Project, *Improving Citizenship Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952).

[2] Wilford M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight-year Study* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. Now published by McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.).

[3] John Cecil Parker, *et al., The First Five Years of the Michigan Study of the Secondary School Curriculum* (Lansing: State Board of Education, 1942).

[4] Frank C. Jenkins, *et al., Cooperative Study for the Improvement of Education* (Nashville: Commission on Curricular Problems and Research, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1946).

method has been characterized by such expressions as "cooperative action research," "situational research," and "democratic curriculum procedure."

In essence, this method requires that one begin with a real-life school situation, mobilize the faculty to attempt solutions of crucial school problems, and try to get the total school to strive for improvement.

THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

Of these five methods, which one would be most suitable for a citizenship education study? Which method or methods would be most effective in producing better citizens? Which methods would produce programs that might increase citizenship participation, reduce crime, decrease conflict, and insure loyalty? These were questions that the designers of the Citizenship Education Study had to answer.

Their answer was to use the cooperative-curriculum procedures as the major approach in the Study, but to employ research and investigative techniques as an integral part of their cooperative undertaking. In the statement on the general framework of the Study, prepared by the Staff, the method for improving citizenship programs was described in these words:

> Two major methods of attack on the problem of developing better citizens are implicit in the planning of this Study. First, it is proposed to make a general, coordinated, total approach to the problems of citizenship education in eight participating schools and to evaluate the effectiveness of this total-school approach in terms of changes in personal, group, and community behavior. Second, it is proposed to select, organize, develop, and evaluate specific practices and methods which give the most promise of more adequately discharging the school's obligation to develop effective citizens for our democracy.[1]

Briefly, the reasons for this decision are: The Educational Policies Commission had provided an adequate philosophical frame-

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* p. 11.

work for an improved citizenship education program. What was needed was not more philosophy, but an operational program that would get the philosophy into action. Investigation and research are essential parts of any effort to improve citizenship education, but research findings have remained, for the most part, on library shelves and have been translated into effective school practice very slowly. The needed next step seemed to be action programs. The instructional-materials approach offered interesting possibilities, but the real problem here seemed to be that of getting instructional materials used more effectively. Concentration on the spread of current practice, while very desirable, might if overemphasized discourage creativeness and inhibit research.

The cooperative-curriculum procedures looked most promising for developing action programs, bringing about changes, implementing philosophy, and producing more effective teaching. So the decision was reached that the Detroit Study would basically be an attempt to work cooperatively with school faculties in actual school situations.

In this decision a conclusion from *Learning the Ways of Democracy* was unusually influential. The investigators who prepared this report stated, from their observation in outstanding schools, that:

> The approach to civic education is, in virtually all schools, fragmentary and incomplete, even within the course of study. With few exceptions, the schools have not analyzed the full demands of citizenship education in democracy. The civic education program has often grown by chance accumulation of materials rather than by broad and systematic plan. Schools that are teaching effectively about modern economic problems, for example, may be doing virtually nothing in the way of instruction about the civil liberties; schools with a good program for the analysis of school and community living may have little effective instruction on the democratic tradition. It would seem appropriate for schools sincerely concerned about civic education to make a general and coordinated approach to the study of democracy and democratic citizenship on the entire curriculum front. Such a service rendered by

> even a few schools would be of marked value to the whole of American education.[1]

The story of the Detroit Citienship Education Study, then, is an attempt on the part of eight schools to make "a general and co-ordinated approach to the study of democracy and democratic citizenship."

[1] Educational Policies Commission, *Learning the Ways of Democracy*, p. 119. Quoted with the permission of the Commission.

CHAPTER TWO

Improving School Citizenship Education Programs

The principal, teachers, and the central staff of the Study cooperatively will begin to develop a coordinated program for the improvement of citizenship education in each school.[1]

THE SCHOOLS

THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL was the focal point in the Citizenship Education Study. Each school was considered to be a unique social organism with citizenship problems that warranted special examination. The eight participating schools were selected because they were fairly typical of schools in any large cosmopolitan city. Four of the schools were elementary schools — one had all the grades from kindergarten through grade six, while the other three included kindergarten and grades one through eight. Two of the schools were junior high schools and two were senior high schools. All the schools were units of the Detroit public school system. Six of the schools had volunteered to participate in the Study by a vote of the faculty. The other two schools were invited because of a desire to include a range of the geographic areas of the city.

The schools reflected most of the intergroup aspects of the general Detroit population. There were bright children and dull children; Negro and white; Catholic, Protestant, and Jew; rich and poor; sons and daughters of labor union members, of workers not in labor unions, of businessmen, and of professional men. Altogether, there were approximately twelve thousand

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* p. 11.

pupils and three hundred teachers in these schools each year.

In some ways the schools were alike: the pattern of administrative organization was similar; the supervisory services were the same; the books and materials were selected and purchased in comparable ways; the courses of study at the various grade levels were the same as those of other schools in Detroit. Yet, each school was different.

DOUGLASS HOUGHTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Douglass Houghton Elementary School is a downtown school. Nearby are the railroad stations, the newspaper offices, the big hotels. The neighborhood is part of a low economic area, an area of transiency adjacent to Detroit's "Skid Row." The teachers described their school in this way:

> The Douglass Houghton Elementary School is situated in an industrial area, less than a mile from the City Hall in downtown Detroit. Small frame houses, badly in need of paint and repair, and large three- and four-storied brick houses of a former era are interspersed with factories, trucking businesses, and warehouses. The former mansions, now displaying light-housekeeping signs in their windows, are occupied by as many as twelve and sixteen families. Common replies to the question, "Where do you live?" are "Upstairs in the back," "In the basement, in front." . . .
>
> A survey of intelligence ratings revealed 7 per cent of the children to be above average intelligence, 40 per cent average and low average, and 53 per cent below average. At least 20 per cent of the children come from broken homes. Many mothers are employed, and it is a common sight to see keys dangling on strings or attached to clothing by safety pins.
>
> A typical record for one semester of 359 new entries and 157 lefts pictures the transiency of the school membership. An examination of the entries and lefts discloses the fact that these children are for the most part Southern whites, many of them shifting back and forth through the years. In contrast, the Chinese, Mexican, and Maltese groups have remained in the school for their entire eight years of elementary

> schooling, giving one segment of the school membership a permanent character.
>
> Neighborhood gangs of teen-agers and children ten and twelve years of age roam the streets at night. . . . Purse snatching was the major pursuit of this older gang until a shooting resulted in the death of the leader's brother. The leader himself was sent to prison. . . .
>
> Ours are truly underprivileged children. Malnutrition, inadequate rest resulting from overcrowded housing, insecurity at home, poor clothing (much of it is secondhand), and lack of facilities for cleanliness are the lot of the majority. Many children belong to families who have been on relief rolls all during the years the children have attended school. Such conditions as these are not conducive to developing good citizenship.[1]

CERVENY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

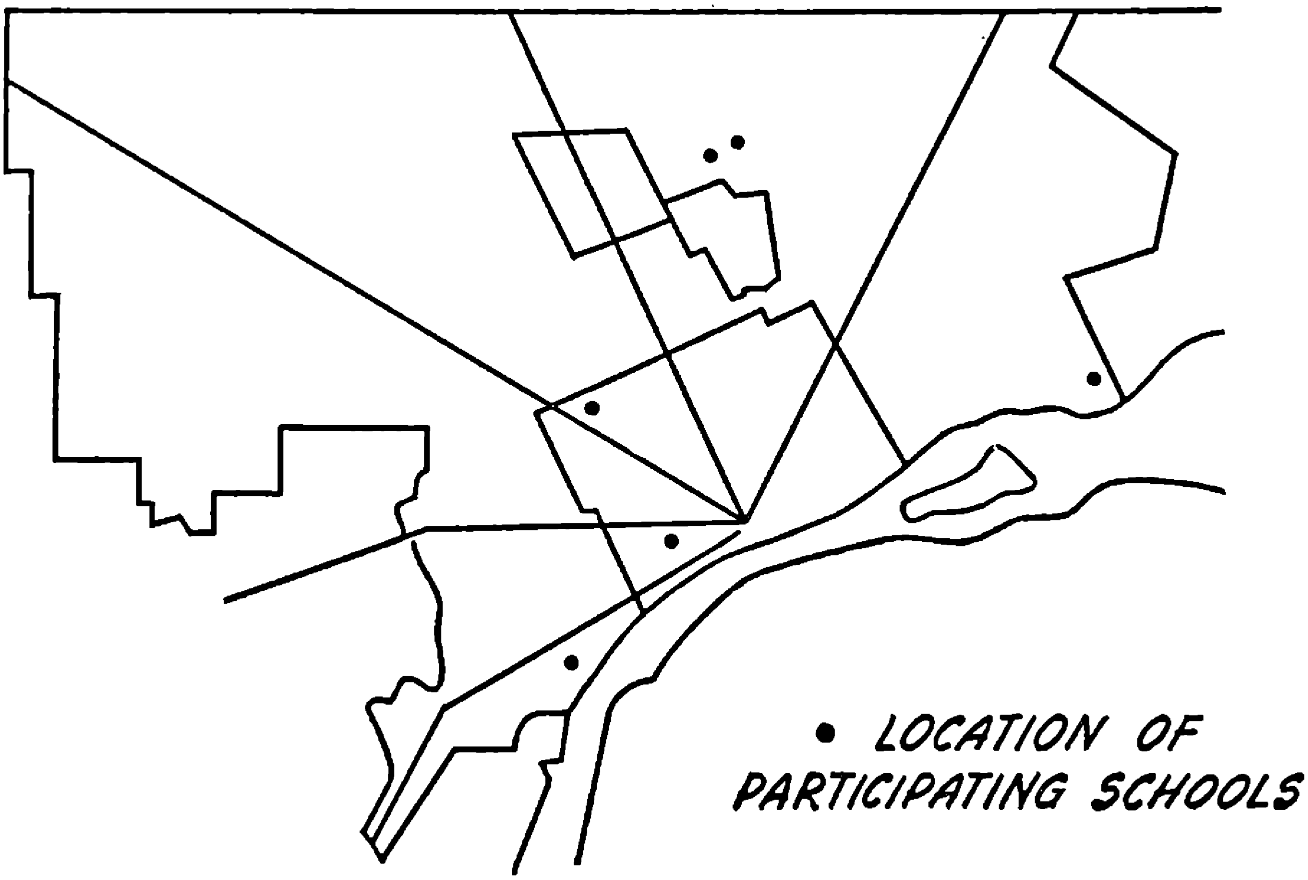
In contrast, the Cerveny Elementary School is located in a middleclass residential area about ten miles northwest from downtown Detroit. Here in a neighborhood of homeowners is one of Detroit's larger elementary schools. In a relatively homogeneous community, this school reflects chiefly the upward mobility of parents who are striving to make life better for themselves and for their children. On intelligence scores these children rate almost at the top for all Detroit schools. The children tend to be competitive. They strive, with occasional exceptions, to get ahead of their companions. The school building is attractive and modern with a great deal of outdoor play space. By and large, the children are accustomed to fresh air, adequate food, and attractive clothing. Parents want to cooperate with the school, although at times they are critical of individual teachers. In the usual view of the big city, Cerveny was in a "better" neighborhood.

GUYTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

On the far-east side of Detroit, near the Detroit River and Grosse Pointe, is the Guyton Elementary School. In a community

[1] Douglass Houghton School Faculty, *Their Happiest Hours* (Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, 1949), pp. 1–3.

of middle-class homeowners for the most part, the Guyton, too, has a relatively homogeneous population. A trailer camp near the river supplies a few pupils, who, if not of a different economic class, certainly have a different family life from the majority. Some racial tension has existed in the neighborhood because of the rumor that an all-Negro housing project might be built a couple of miles away. Most of the pupils are considered to be "bright"; on reading or intelligence scores the school usually ranks in the upper one-third of the two hundred Detroit elementary schools. The school



has a very good reputation among the parents, but there is some worry that the neighborhood may be changing. The older, well-established families are gradually moving out. The newer families have less economic security. Residents are beginning to conjecture about the future of the area, but always there is the opinion that the school is a good one. An active PTA helped in building good will.

WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND CLEVELAND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL

Northward from downtown Detroit and east of Hamtramck lies a huge area that is a part of one of Detroit's melting-pot commu-

nities. It is probably not wise to refer to this area as a community; in many respects it is disorganized, lacking in integration and in leadership. A journalist described part of this area as follows:

> Here people are packed like sardines into dingy, unpainted houses, with emergency dwellings on every former vacant lot, and many a five-room bungalow rented out to as many different families. That means no place for the youngsters to play but outdoors, and no place outdoors but the streets and alleys. Police, trying to protect the youngsters from traffic dangers, periodically chase them even from there.
>
> Go through this congested area with someone who knows the ropes and you will learn a great deal about the problems youngsters face in such a setting. You will be shown the favorite congregating places of youth — the barrooms, the poolrooms, the joints of various kinds, where proprietors close their eyes to gambling, profanity, and dirty stories, and some few encourage it for their own profit. You may see the corners that are the hangouts for juvenile gangs, from whom the delinquents of today and the criminals of tomorrow will be recruited unless somebody does something about it. How high would you compute the averages for staying out of trouble, under such circumstances as these? [1]

In this area, which is considered to be one of the two most ominous tension spots in the city, were two schools of the Study: the White Elementary School and the Cleveland Intermediate School.[2] The schools are a block apart — separated by the one community-recreation area.

The children of the White School have parents who are working in Detroit's factories and stores. For the most part the families live in individual homes; but, at the beginning of the Study, children from two multiple-housing projects attended the school. A

[1] Gladys Denny Shultz, "Delinquency — Detroit's Answer," *Ladies Home Journal,* LXIV (August, 1947), 23, 96–97. Reprinted by special permission of the author and of *the Ladies Home Journal.* Copyright 1947. The Curtis Publishing Company.

[2] In Detroit, junior high schools (grades 7, 8, and 9) are called intermediate schools.

permanent-housing project across the street provided many pupils. From a temporary-housing project for warworkers, children came by bus to the school; they were labeled by the other children as "the matchbox kids" — a term of derision applied because of their temporary wooden barracks. The school contained many different nationality groups, too. The children exhibited a wide range of intelligence, but the average was somewhat below that of all Detroit schools.

The Cleveland Intermediate School receives the graduates of the White School as well as those from two other public elementary schools. Here, at the seventh-grade level, early adolescents come together from a great variety of backgrounds. From the northwest come Negroes of two types — long-time residents of Detroit with a middle-class culture and poorer Negroes "just up from the South" with a low economic rural background. From the southwest come children from a predominantly Polish center. From the eastern areas come other white children from homes of the laboring class. Altogether, forty-four nationalities are included in the school. Over the years the school has developed a reputation for toughness. Fights between children are common but they do not follow racial patterns. Girls are as frequent fighters as boys. Conflicts in the community are reflected in the school. Teachers are confronted with a wide range of intelligence, but according to standard tests the majority of the children are retarded.

BARBOUR INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL

The Barbour Intermediate School, on Detroit's near-east side, is really two schools: one is a school for seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-grade children; the other is a school for ninth-grade children only. This unusual situation arises because approximately 50 per cent of the enrolled children come from eighth-grade parochial and public schools and attend Barbour only one year. The boys' counselor at the school describes the neighborhood as:

> . . . an average Negro district with a middle-class and upper-class (white) residential area. Families of Italian descent, both first and second generation, form the largest nationality group

> in the area with a substantial representation of Polish, French, English, Irish, Scotch, and German groups.[1]

The neighborhood was in transition. A wealthy, upper-middle class subdivision was an island among small homes owned by factory workers. Gangs were prevalent in the community, with many pupils taking pride in their gang membership. As a group, the students were somewhat below the general average in mental ability, but this is a big school and the extremes in native abilities were very great.

NORTHWESTERN HIGH SCHOOL AND SOUTHWESTERN HIGH SCHOOL

The two high schools in the Study are outstanding examples of the change that has taken place in high school populations during the past quarter of a century. The range of interests and abilities is great. Because their classes are made up of boys and girls of widely differing ability and background, the teachers are faced daily with the central issue of American secondary education: How to provide a suitable education for *all* American youth?

Located a few miles northwest from the center of the city, Northwestern High School, for twenty-five years, has been gradually going through a great social evolution. A quarter century ago Northwestern High School was a leading college-preparatory school. As Detroit grew, upper middle class families moved out of the school district and workers' families moved in — a typical pattern in the growth of large cities. During the period of the Study, around 40 per cent of the student population was colored — a percentage that gradually grows as middle-class Negroes find an area within the school's district boundaries where they can live comfortably and peacefully. Two main traffic arteries — West Grand Boulevard and Grand River Avenue — divide the school district into relatively homogeneous groups — Negro, lower-middle-class white, and upper-middle-class white. On one edge of the district is a settlement of middle-class Jews. The population of the area is decreasing and the school is getting smaller. The faculty worries

[1] I. A. Rodeheffer, "Gangdom—Fists to Reasoning," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* XXII (1949), 406. Quoted with the permission of the *Journal.*

about the drop-out rate; approximately 50 per cent of the children leave school between the time they enter the tenth grade and the twelfth-grade graduation. The intelligence range of pupils is great, from extremely low to extremely high, with the majority of the students being average or slightly below average.

Southwestern High School is in the heart of a smoke-filled industrial area on the far west side of Detroit. It is surrounded by railroad tracks, factories, and small businesses. Over forty nationalities are included in the student population, with the Slavic groups predominating. A small percentage of Negroes attend. Many religions are represented. The parents are stolid, hard-working, thrifty people — the backbone of any urban, industrial area. The intelligence range of pupils is great. The school seems to be free from tension, for a tradition of friendliness has been established over a long period of time.

These, then, are the eight schools that participated in the Study. They are products of a fast-growing industrial city that has never caught up with the suddenness and rapidity of its industrialization.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT FACTORS ABOUT THE SCHOOLS

The eight schools represented an excellent laboratory for educational exploration. Viewed as a group the schools presented some unusual possibilities. For one thing there was a chance to work with stable as well as changing educational leadership. Two principals were new to their schools as the Study began, although they had had previous experience as principals of other Detroit schools. One principal was promoted to another school during the last year of the Study. In one school, a key executive (a vice-principal) was changed four times during the four years. In contrast, two principals had been in charge of their buildings since the schools were opened, more than twenty years ago, and still continue as the principals.

Each school, too, had an existing program of activities designed to promote citizenship. Five schools had student councils; all the schools taught American history and government in regular courses. Special days, auditorium or assembly programs, and musical productions were employed to develop loyalty and patriotism.

The Study did not have to start from scratch but could build on an existing citizenship foundation in each school.

Only one school had any formal relationship with parents: it had an active Parent-Teacher Association. In the other schools, relationships with parents seemed to be on an individual parent-child basis. The chances for greater community-school activity were abundant.

THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING THE SOCIAL SETTINGS OF SCHOOLS

The schools have been described in some detail because this Study cannot be understood unless one knows something of the nature of the social setting in which the schools exist. These are not schools in wealthy upper-middle-class areas; they are not so-called "progressive" schools. They are regular schools in a large city-school system. The differences among the schools are of great significance in the educational process.

President Conant of Harvard has seen the situation clearly. He writes:

> To laymen who pass judgment on the public schools one cannot repeat too often: education is a social process; our schools and colleges neither operate in empty space nor serve identical communities. Before you judge a school, analyze the families from which it draws its students and the opportunities presented to its graduates. What may be a satisfactory curriculum for one group of pupils may be highly unsuitable for another. And the difference is often due not to discrepancies in the intellectual capacities of the students but to the social situation in which the boys and girls are placed. This in turn depends on the nature of the local community of which the pupils and their parents are a part. To be specific, the problems facing the principals of three high schools — one in an industrialized section of a congested steel town, another in a rural area in the Middle West, a third in a well-to-do suburb of Chicago, St. Louis, or New York—are totally different.[1]

[1] Reprinted by permission of the publishers from James Bryant Conant, *Education in a Divided World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, copyright, 1948, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College), p. 48.

The schools in this Study reflect this social process as it exists in one industrial city. Through trial-and-error efforts, and aided by the insights of experienced principals and teachers, participants in the Study came to realize the fundamental importance of the social process at work in the school and in the community. If we were conducting this Study again, we would devote more systematic attention to this process in each school.

There are forces at work in communities about which we do not know enough. There are significant factors in the relationship of administrators and teachers that have eluded our analysis. There are deep-seated school traditions that exert great influence on faculties and pupils. We realize now that there is an important job for anthropologists and sociologists to perform in describing the social process and the social setting of schools like those with which we have worked. Other schools wishing to improve their citizenship programs will need to make careful studies of the communities from which they draw their pupils. They will need, also, to make penetrating studies of the interaction of faculty members and of pupils.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND COOPERATION

The description of the eight participating schools has emphasized that schools exist in unique settings and have specific characteristics deserving consideration in the development of citizenship education programs. The cooperative curriculum procedures employed in the Study proved to be ideally adapted to this process because the method emphasized working with each school as an autonomous unit.

This method, as indicated in Chapter I, is not novel either to this Study or to many schools of the nation. The method has been evolving for approximately two decades. Any school wishing to improve its citizenship education program can successfully make use of the cooperative procedures. In the Study the following generalizations about the method were accepted before any relationship was established with the participating schools.

1. *The place to begin improving citizenship education pro-*

grams is with a particular school and its problems. Each school is a different social institution, having its own teaching staff and drawing its students from its own neighborhood with its distinctive socio-economic background. Each school has its own traditions, student-behavior code, and level of parent expectation. Each school has its own citizenship problems. Schools are not the same; they have individual differences just as persons do.

2. *In each school educational leadership must be given an opportunity to function.* In this Study leadership developed from three sources: administrators, teachers, and the Study Staff. The principal, the assistant principal, and the department head had positions in which leadership was expected and often found. There were teachers who had natural leadership qualities or who learned to develop them when they had the opportunity to participate in curriculum planning. The Study Staff, as in the case of administrators, were expected to be leaders, and they frequently occupied leadership roles.

The educational leader is essentially a teacher, a stimulator, and a coordintaor of others' activities, one who is trying to grow in understanding and to help others grow. Frequently, the educational leader is a democratic administrator who gives major attention to curriculum problems — one who has learned not to become harnessed to a routine of administrative detail. Sometimes this leader is a classroom teacher of great skill who has become recognized as the natural leader by other teachers. Sometimes the leader is an outside consultant who provides stimulation. But always the leader is a person of vision, one with a good sense of direction. As has been well stated, leadership "can come from any who will think clearly on major problems and will help to release the leadership in others in solving these problems." [1]

3. *The process employed for improving citizenship programs should be consistent with democratic values.* The method for developing improved citizenship programs is essentially a cooperative one. Individual initiative and responsibility are necessary, for

[1] Gordon N. Mackenzie, "Curriculum Leadership," *Educational Leadership,* VI (1949), 264.

they are fundamental to any democratic procedure, but a truly effective citizenship education program cannot be carried on solely by individual effort. As far as possible, the entire faculty must be mobilized into an effective team, working and thinking together, for every teacher is a teacher of citizenship. Ideally, parents and pupils should be participants in this process, too, for widespread participation is a desirable goal.

To restate the three generalizations fundamental to the use of cooperative-curriculum procedures: begin with the individual school, help educational leadership to function, and assist in the development of cooperative planning procedures. These were the generalized approaches used by the Study. They are used by some schools today; they could be used by many others.[1]

INITIAL PROBLEMS

In the Study experiences with this method, certain initial questions arose in each of the schools. Among these were: What is the function of a Staff member in a school? What resources are available? How can a faculty be organized for effective action? What is meant by citizenship? Since these questions were recurrent and not unique to any one school, the experiences of the Citizenship Education Study in answering them may be of value to others as they undertake their own adventures in bettering the quality of civic education.

THE STAFF MEMBER'S ROLE

In each of the schools participating in the Study, the principals, teachers, and Staff members began, in September, 1945, to try to develop a more effective citizenship program. The Staff member was, of course, a stranger to the school. What was this stranger's role? What did he intend to do in the school? In the original plan for the Study, a Staff member's relation to each school was de-

[1] For a more detailed discussion of the method of curriculum improvement, see Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952), Part II.

scribed as "comparable to that of an assistant principal or supervisor." As the Study evolved, however, the relationship became one better described as a consultative-cooperative relationship.[1] The Staff member had no administrative authority; changes could be made only as principals and faculties were willing to change. The Staff member had no subject-matter area to supervise; rather, the total school became the center for all effort. So each Staff member had to function as an effective curriculum leader. The functions were closely akin to those described by Alice Miel for status leaders: "(1) improving the human relations within the group; (2) furnishing expertness along certain lines; (3) generating leadership in others; and (4) coordinating the efforts of others."[2] These are the functions that any principal, assistant principal, teacher, curriculum-committee chairman, or consultant has to assume in order to help bring change in a school's citizenship program.

The first approach to the participating schools was made by stating that the Staff hoped to work on the citizenship problems that teachers considered important. The Staff did not intend or desire to tell any school what its program should be.

Always, Staff members tried to remain counselors, advisors, stimulators, and never to be commanders issuing executive orders. Just as many teachers have a slogan, "Take children from where they are," it was essential to take schools as they were and work with them to develop effective programs. One result of this type of relationship was that many different persons assumed leadership roles. Leadership tended to be distributed more widely and more effectively. Another result was that a great variety of activities was undertaken. Another was that different things were attempted in different schools. No attempt was made to establish the same program for each school.

[1] See Elmer F. Pflieger, "A Critical Analysis of a Consultative-Cooperative Method Designed to Produce Curriculum Change for Improved Citizenship" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne University, 1950).

[2] Alice Miel, *Changing the Curriculum* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1946), p. 159.

THE RESOURCES

Resources of several different types were made available to the schools. In addition to Staff assistance some money from a foundation grant was made available to purchase much-needed instructional equipment and material. Professional books and magazines were supplied, and some teachers were enabled to visit other school systems. Consultants were provided where specialized help was needed. Scholarships were available to teachers for work on special projects during the summer. Substitute teachers were provided on many occasions, so that teachers could attend work-group sessions during school hours, but many meetings were held after school hours in the late afternoons, in the evenings or on Saturdays. These work-group sessions became the principal device for getting cooperation among teachers.[1] Food was provided for luncheons, teas, and dinners when the work-groups were meeting.

From this experience, it appears that educational leaders striving to improve citizenship programs will be aided if some funds are available for equipment and material, consultant service, and food or refreshments. To assist in the wise expenditure of these funds the following suggestions are made.

Plan in advance for the use of consultants. Consultants should be carefully briefed about plans before arriving at a school. Consultants are valuable for inspiration, explanation of new theories, sensitiveness to weak spots in a program, and practical ways of doing things. No one consultant is able to do all these things equally well. In an evolving program the expert in theory can be helpful in early stages; the expert in practice is valuable later. Don't neglect the use of skilled classroom teachers. When practical know-how was desired, teachers were accepted more readily than supervisors or college professors as consultants by classroom teachers. On the other hand, the supervisors and professors were more valuable for inspiration, new theories, and critical analysis.

Plan visits to other schools carefully, for teachers seem to receive

[1] See Arnold Meier, "A Study of a Work-Group-Conference Method for Producing Curriculum Change" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne University, 1950).

the greatest benefits when they have definite problems to solve. Visits can easily become junkets if the visitors do not have definite things for which they are searching, although there is a certain value to visiting other schools even when the visitors' problems are not well-defined.

Books and magazines seem most useful when teachers are searching for answers to specific problems. Expenditures of Study funds for professional books and magazines for schools were unwise when they were provided only for general reading. They were used effectively by teachers when the teachers became concerned about solving problems. Written materials were not good stimulators to action; they were useful tools after action had started.

Permit teachers to share in the expenditures of school funds. The money provided by the Study for the purchase of instructional materials and equipment was spent more wisely, more effectively, and with more adequate accounting when allotments were made directly to schools than when purchases were made by the central office. Decentralization of purchases was more effective for instruction than was a centralized purchase system.

Most important of all, however, if teachers are really to participate in the process of developing better citizens, they need time to think, to plan, to act — time when they are not worried about children for whom they are responsible and time when their nervous energy is not at a low ebb. Teachers are generous with their time, but it does not seem wise for improvement programs to rely solely on the free time that teachers give voluntarily out of a sense of professional or civic obligation. If the job of improving citizenship education programs is worth attempting, school systems should provide some time when teachers can meet together to solve school problems. The method of providing substitutes had some advantages as well as disadvantages. Dismissal of schools early on certain days, having teachers meet for a few days before pupils enter school at the start of a semester, and week-end workshops presented similar opportunities and difficulties. Some device, however, to get teachers together with adequate time for planning is essential.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FACULTY

As these eight schools worked on their problems, two different ways of organizing the faculty for cooperative action developed. The organizational pattern was not planned in advance — chiefly because experience and wisdom were lacking, but also, — partially, at least, — because of a reluctance to push too hard in the early months for an organization that might not be desired by the faculties. Among the schools, as a result, two general types of organization evolved.

In a few schools the regular administrative organization was used as the vehicle for the improvement of citizenship education. The principal, the assistant principal, and the department heads (in secondary schools) assumed general responsibility for the school's conduct of the Study.

In the majority of schools a different pattern developed. In these schools, as definite responsibilities appeared, teacher committees were organized. The chairmen of these committees usually were part of a central faculty steering committee. By the end of the Study, six of the eight schools had developed quite effective organizations through the formation of teacher committees.

Although both patterns of organization were satisfactory and both produced good results, the Staff believes that the teacher-committee organization had certain advantages over the other. In many cases new leadership arose. In those cases where the administrators became working members of groups, a new and improved relationship developed between administrators and teachers. Under the committee system, too, the extent of participation was greater. The committee system was more flexible — committees were disbanded when jobs were done; new committees were organized when new situations required them.

Two examples of the committee structure may assist schools desirous of experimenting with this type of organization. At the Cerveny School the teachers described their organization as follows:

> From the beginning of the Study, everyone (teachers, administrators, and Staff members) sensed the need for planning

and communication. An organization, democratically constituted, had to be developed which could function to formulate tentative plans, to communicate decisions and ideas, and to direct and facilitate action.

Initially, the organizational arrangement included a central planning committee (Steering Committee) and some general committees such as Building Committee, Committee on School-Community Relations, and a Guidance Committee. The Steering Committee originally was composed of three teachers, selected at large by the faculty, the administrators, and the Citizenship Staff member assigned to the school (Coordinator).

In September, 1947, at the beginning of Cerveny's third year of participation in the Study, the faculty organization was modified to include three groups. These groupings indicate the organizational pattern now in effect. They are:

A. Grade Level Groups. The teachers in each of these groups are identified by the grade levels of the children for whom they are particularly responsible. These groups are the Lower Grades, Middle Grades, and Upper Grades. This arrangement facilitates the consideration of common problems in meeting the needs of children within a given grade level.

B. Special Interest Groups. Teachers who had common interests in special school-wide projects voluntarily formed groups to avoid unnecessary overlapping of effort. Examples of these groups are the Finance Committee and the Schedule Revision Committee.

C. Steering Committee. The Teacher Council was composed of two teachers from each Grade Level Group elected annually, the principal and assistant principal, and the coordinator. In general, this central planning committee worked to coordinate activities, establish policy, formulate plans, communicate opinion and ideas, and direct and facilitate action.

The faculty organization is illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

Total Faculty

Central Steering or Planning Committee

- Grade Level Groups
  - Upper Grades
  - Middle Grades
  - Lower Grades
- Special Interest Groups
  - Building Com.
  - Finance Com.
  - Schedule Revision
  - Service Clubs

> Planning, action and evaluation were carried on by means of faculty meetings, group discussions, steering committee meetings, grade level group meetings, workshops, community projects, individual projects, and visits to other schools.[1]

In a similar way, at Southwestern High School, the faculty elected the assistant principal as chairman of the steering committee and six teachers as members to serve with the coordinator from the Study Staff. By the end of the Study this committee was coordinating the activities of nine other committees: Alumni, Building Survey, Bulletin Board and Display Cases, Curriculum and Resources, Homeroom, Student Activities, Student Handbook, Teachers' Handbook, Teachers' Social.[2] These committees were organized as specific needs arose. For example, the Building Survey Committee developed because teachers discovered they needed room for special activities that had not previously been carried on in the school. A tutoring service, a social-studies laboratory, more complete pupil records, and other activities required a wiser use of the available space in the building.

The committee organizations developed in these two schools, and in other schools, resulted in an ever-widening circle of participation. During the first year of the Study there was a definite cleavage between some teachers and some administrators. Where this cleavage was very apparent, teachers wanted to meet by themselves

[1] Morton Kanfer and Herbert K. Letcher, *Learning to Live Together at Cerveny School* (Detroit: The Cerveny Elementary School, 1949), pp. 3–5.

[2] Southwestern High School Faculty, *Southwestern Looks at Its Citizens* (Detroit: Southwestern High School, 1949), pp. 123–24.

"without the principal being present." As participation increased, teachers became proud of their accomplishments and wanted the principal "to know about activities." When the principal was finally accepted as a participant, the teachers and the principal became more appreciative of each other's contributions. One of the great satisfactions of the Study has been to observe the development of a better professional team in some schools.

This same cycle of resistance and ultimate acceptance was apparent in two other widening relationships that developed. In some schools, children were to be seen and not heard. In other schools a similar attitude was extended to parents. Yet, as committees worked toward the solution of school problems, children and finally parents were gradually recognized as essential participants if the school was to be really effective in developing good citizens.

THE MEANING OF CITIZENSHIP

For four years in the Study teachers were associated voluntarily on committees and in work groups under a leadership that tried to respect the worth of each person. Throughout this period there was one constant, recurring problem that was never completely solved and that, perhaps, can never be completely solved in a society that is in transition. The question was: What does citizenship mean?

Citizenship has come to be a general word; it means different things to different people. It has been used to describe character-education programs, free-enterprise educational campaigns, recreation activities, religious practices in the schools, the teaching of government, and many other activities. As schools strive to improve their citizenship programs, they need to examine frequently how they are using this important, impressive, common word.

During the first six months of the Study, before a relationship was established with the participating schools, the Staff undertook a careful study of the meaning of citizenship. The result of this analysis was included as part of the framework for the Study that the Staff was required to prepare by the terms of the agreement between the donor and the Detroit Board of Education.

In this document the following interpretation of citizenship was made.

> Citizenship as it relates to school activities has a two-fold meaning. In a narrow sense citizenship includes only legal status in a country and the activities closely related to the political functions — voting, governmental organization, holding of public office, and legal rights and responsibilities.
>
> Citizenship, in addition, has also acquired a broad meaning almost synonymous with those desirable personal qualities which are displayed in human associations. The citizen lives within the framework of a highly complex maze of interests, activities, and associations. Any attempt to enable him to live successfully in democratic society as it really exists, must give due attention to a whole gamut of relations — political and other — for these relations and associations are the essence of citizenship. They are the relationships which become the warp and woof of democratic living in the community.
>
> For this Study, then, citizenship means the relations of the individual to his government and, in addition, his relations to other members and groups in a democratic society. It is recognized that the governmental phases of citizenship are of vital importance, yet the broader definition must provide the basis for the Study. This conclusion is reached because today our present knowledge of the growth and development of human beings has demonstrated that it is unwise to dissociate any aspect of the growth of the individual, such as the political, from the growth of the individual as a whole. Moreover, there has been during this century a trend toward expanding the scope of government until today there is no longer a clear demarcation between the governmental and nongovernmental activities of the citizen. It is also significant that this Study is to include children at all age levels; and in the elementary schools particularly, many of the political implications of citizenship are beyond the maturity levels of the pupils.[1]

In the initial approaches to the schools, therefore, the Study was committed to a policy that citizenship is more than political citizenship. Not political aspects alone, but human association, be-

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study*, pp. 3–4.

came the base of operation. In this Study the home-economics teacher was as important as the social studies teacher; the athletic coach was considered to be as influential as the school counselor; the cafeteria was as much an educational laboratory as the classroom. The total school was considered to be the training ground for good citizens.

Based on this broad definition of citizenship, the Staff described five qualities of the good citizen that seemed to be essential ingredients of the democratic way of life to which Americans give allegiance. In summary, these qualities affirm that the good citizen:

1. "Is aware of the importance of *meeting basic human needs* and is concerned with the extension of the essentials of life to more individuals."

2. "Gives allegiance to the ideals of *democracy*."

3. "Practices the kinds of *human relationships* that are consistent with a democratic society."

4. "Recognizes and endeavors to help in the *solution of the social problems*" of the times.

5. "Possesses and uses *knowledge, skills, and abilities* to facilitate the process of democratic living."[1]

In the early meetings of the Staff with school faculties, the definition of citizenship and the characteristics of the five qualities were discussed. The five qualities provided a philosophical basis, central goals, and a framework for evaluation of the Study. They were never intentionally forced upon a faculty, because there was an honest desire to work with schools on their unique citizenship problems. There were, perhaps, some teachers in the participating schools who were not really aware of these five central qualities of citizenship. By the Staff, however, the five qualities were so completely accepted that they influenced all activities designed to assist the schools with the improvement of their citizenship programs. Whether we were dealing with a problem on the playground, developing a unit on the American heritage, or assisting in the devel-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–8. The italics are mine.

opment of a child-study group for mothers, our central direction came from the acceptance of a broad definition of citizenship and the five citizenship qualities.

As other schools develop improved citizenship programs, we think they, too, will be aided if they think together about the meaning of citizenship and the qualities that good citizens should possess. Because the five qualities of the good citizen provided a central direction for the Staff, these qualities will be used as the central themes for the next five chapters.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, to aid schools in their initial attempts to develop improved citizenship education programs, the following conclusions and recommendations are made. Schools should:

1. Make a careful analysis of the community setting from which children come to the school. The educative influences of social forces outside the school are so powerful that the school may have great difficulty in counteracting them. Failure to be aware of these community conditions may defeat any citizenship program the school develops.

2. Strive to increase the extent of participation in the development of the citizenship program. The program should not be limited to social studies teachers—it should include all teachers as rapidly as possible and involve parents, community leaders, and pupils, too. Participation, properly guided, releases the creative power of each individual.

3. Be alert to the leadership potential of many different people. Leadership is not the sole responsibility of persons appointed or elected to specific positions. Every teacher has leadership responsibility.

4. Develop an organization that fixes responsibility but encourages sharing. The team concept is hard to achieve but is exceedingly useful.

5. Make use of available resources. The intelligent use of consultants will help. Professional books and magazines have a place. Visits to other schools are useful when teachers are seeking answers

to problems. And teachers may well participate in the plans for expenditure of funds.

6. Seek assistance in group procedures. Working together is learned. Some persons have more insight and skill in the procedure than others. The use of a non-participant observer who tries to analyze the process of group thinking may aid some persons to learn more about group dynamics.

7. Provide time for groups to meet together, with facilities and an atmosphere that are conducive to relaxed human relations. Time in large quantities is necessary for sharing and for creative thinking.

8. Recognize that difficulties will arise. Changing a program of citizenship education causes insecurity to some teachers. Resistance will be encountered. Personality conflicts will arise. These natural reactions of human beings must be anticipated and not allowed to block progress. The honest sharing of experiences and the communication of ideas to all persons on a faculty will ease these tensions, but experience shows that even cooperative procedures will not eliminate all conflict.

9. Give thought to the meaning of citizenship. Philosophical discussions of citizenship were not helpful in initiating programs of change; working on problems was. Yet, as programs evolved there was an increasing number of discussions on the meaning of democracy, the nature of society, and the relationship of schools to the world situation.

CHAPTER THREE

The Missing Ingredient: Emotional Adjustment

> The Study proposes to determine the extent to which the basic human needs of students in schools are now being met and . . . will endeavor to encourage school procedures which will better meet these human needs.[1]

THE MAJOR CONCLUSION

THE MISSING INGREDIENT in citizenship education programs is a course of action capable of bringing about the satisfactory emotional adjustment of all children. This generalization is the major conclusion of the Citizenship Education Study.

The general acceptance of this conclusion by educators would result in their giving increased attention to mental-hygiene approaches, making a continuous study of child growth and development, encouraging more effective guidance programs, and making greater use of psychological, psychiatric, and social-work services.

The recognition of the need for emotional adjustment and the study of methods by which to procure this adjustment are not new. Such approaches have received increasing attention for twenty years. The significant fact growing out of the Study is this: many teachers, parents, and community leaders have failed to understand that the quality of citizenship is directly related to the emotional development of the child. For example, many advocate more teaching of American history and government as a way of getting better citizens, not recognizing that some pupils who have

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study*, p. 6.

studied these subjects at three different levels of school life still develop into bad citizens because parents, churches, and schools were not able to assist them in developing a satisfactory adjustment to themselves and to their society. Educators need to recognize that in developing good citizenship a most hopeful approach is to aid children and youth to be emotionally well adjusted.

By what reasoning did the Study conclude that emotional adjustment is the missing ingredient in citizenship education programs? Can schools improve their practices so that better emotional adjustment can be achieved? These are the questions that will be discussed in this chapter.[1]

THE REASONING

From our rich experience of working with teachers on their school problems we concluded that emotional adjustment is of the greatest importance in citizenship education programs. The reactions of teachers to the situations that existed in the schools, the range in adjustment of pupils, and the reactions of pupils taught us to place high priority on improving emotional adjustment as a way of developing better citizens.

TEACHER REACTIONS

The first year of the Study was an exciting one. We were enthusiastic; teachers were hopeful and patient. Staff members soon came to have the profoundest admiration for most of the teachers. We found them brave, resourceful, sincere people. But when we talked about the meaning of democracy, they talked about noisy halls. If we talked about problem-solving, they talked about John who had skipped school. Our ventures into theories of child psychology were frequently met with such queries as "How can you do that with forty kids in a class?" "What are you going to do about the gang that broke up the school dance last night?" "How can I

[1] This chapter is an attempt to summarize briefly the Study experiences with respect to emotional adjustment. Readers interested in a more complete presentation of this point of view should see Elmer Pflieger and Grace Weston, *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953), one of the final reports of the Citizenship Education Study.

teach these youngsters when they can't read?" "What are you going to do about gum-chewing? tardiness? swearing?"

Gradually it dawned on us that most of the teachers we were working with interpreted citizenship fundamentally in just one way: citizenship equals conduct. The way a child behaved in school was the chief (sometimes the only) criterion of citizenship.

We began to realize, too, that some teachers had little understanding of children, did not know how they should be treated. Some were excellent in this—kind, sympathetic, understanding; they were as good as the best in the profession. But a few were cruel, sadistic, and seemingly oblivious of any notion of the nature of childhood; these teachers did great damage. In between were the well-meaning but sometimes inept teachers, the carefree, the indolent, the good but mechanical.

The consultants reported this same variation of understanding. One consultant worked with a group of teachers that he thought far advanced over most teachers in their insights into child behavior. Another consultant commented after a day with another group that the teachers were the most resistant toward ideas of child growth that he had ever encountered.

Benjamin Fine, in his survey of conditions in American schools, sensed some of this same range of reactions to pupils when he concluded about a segment of the teaching group: "Too many teachers, their morale shattered, lack a sound philosophy of education. They are primarily concerned with themselves, with the result that their perspective has been warped. To them teaching has become just a job, a means of earning a livelihood. Gone are the joys of serving society, of assuming responsibility for growing young minds." [1]

Recognition of the varied teacher reactions toward pupils required the spending of most of the first two years and a considerable portion of the other two years of the Study trying to find ways to help teachers understand better the children they taught so that they could help develop better citizens.

[1] Benjamin Fine, *Our Children Are Cheated* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947), pp. 9–10. Quoted with permission of the publishers.

Some indication of the difficulty and complexity of these problems can be gained from descriptions of the behavioral patterns found in schools during the first year of the Study. School coordinators had been asked to write descriptions of the situation in each school. In the most extreme case the coordinator wrote:

> When the Staff of the Study entered —— School, they were confronted by belligerent pupils and tense, weary teachers. The bodily aggression of pupils in the halls, lunchroom, auditorium, and gymnasiums was intense. There was fighting, hair-pulling, yelling, and running in halls and classroom. In the lunchroom breakage of dishes, throwing of food, yelling, and fighting were routine practices. Teachers reported that the library conference rooms and radiators throughout the building were used as lavatories. Large-scale gang fights were common among girls as well as boys.
>
> Teachers were meeting the situation with aggressive force, with rules, with punishment. Very little learning was taking place. Teachers spent a large share of their time in trying to get enough order so that the teacher might be heard. Teachers were meeting this situation with the grim determination "that pupils would learn or else." In many instances the textbook itself was used only as a means of getting a semblance of order. Children were bored and sullen, and very little accomplishment resulted.[1]

For another school in a different type of community under more normal conditions another coordinator reported:

> In each of the first contacts with the school the coordinator was approached by teachers with comments regarding the

[1] One principal who reviewed the manuscript objected to the inclusion of this quotation because it does not reflect typical conditions. We decided to leave the quotation in partly because the conditions in this school exerted considerable influence on the conduct of the Study and, partly, because similar conditions exist in specific schools of other large cities. When rural youth with no background or training for city life move to an urban area during a war period and are forced to live in crowded, tense areas, there are difficult problems of adjustment. Their previous food habits, toilet training, and recreational patterns are not adapted to the new life in the city. Schools in such areas have found it necessary to teach elementary facts of community living as a part of orienting these young people to life in large cities. As will be noted later in this chapter some of these behavior patterns, too, reflect social class behavior of specific economic groups.

> "lack of discipline" and the general behavior of children in and about the school.
>
> In the initial teacher questionnaire, teachers, when asked to list evidence of bad citizenship, listed in detail and frequently such items as disrespect for adults, disobedience, lack of responsibility, discourtesy.
>
> It appeared that some teachers had little awareness of other behavior, such as the number of shy, retiring, insecure, unhappy children in and about the school. Teachers used techniques of pressure, demanded uniformity in action and performance, provided only limited routine kinds of learning experiences, used fear, punishment, and failure in order to get conformity of pupils. As a result of the school environment, aggression and other "bad" behavior did occur, but these behaviors were caused and teachers needed to look at causes and not just symptoms.

Reports of the coordinators for other schools showed that the methods of teaching, the social habits of children, the accepted theories of learning, and the attitudes toward individual differences were so varied that major attention would have to be given to the problem of helping teachers understand the reactions of their pupils. As in most large cities it was possible to find everything from the very good to the very bad.

Other evidence showing the influence of teacher reactions to pupils is found in the initial activities that were undertaken in the schools. As teachers, principals, and Staff members worked together on problems, projects of many kinds were initiated. Fifty-one distinct activities were recorded by the eight schools for the *First Annual Report* of the Study, 73 per cent being initiated because of concern over the behavior of pupils in the schools.

Near the end of the first year of the Study, the Staff and the principals of the schools met one evening for a planning and evaluation session. After dinner the question was posed, "What is the chief difference in your school because of the Study?" The one answer that came from all was that children were being treated differently and better as more teachers learned to understand children better.

THE RANGE IN ADJUSTMENT OF PUPILS

Teacher reactions toward pupil behavior first led us to be concerned about emotional adjustment, but the data collected in a mass testing program also underlined the importance of this approach.

The emotional, social, and mental adjustment of pupils is difficult to determine objectively. Neither the teachers nor the Staff members were highly skilled in these matters. We had to learn together as we worked on specific problems. Three tests were selected to aid in determining the initial state of affairs: the Mooney *Problem Check List*, the *California Test of Personality*, and the *Wishing Well Test.*

The Mooney *Problem Check List* enumerates carefully chosen problems that have troubled young people.[1] The junior-high-school form contains 210 items, the senior-high-school form, 330 items. These items are organized around seven central areas for the junior high school and around eleven for the senior high school. The tests were administered to the eighth- and twelfth-grade graduating classes in participating schools for the first time in June, 1945 and were repeated annually.

The results in the different schools were similar. Some pupils checked very few problems; other pupils checked a great many. The scores followed the pattern of a skewed distribution curve. The following graph is typical of the range of problems.

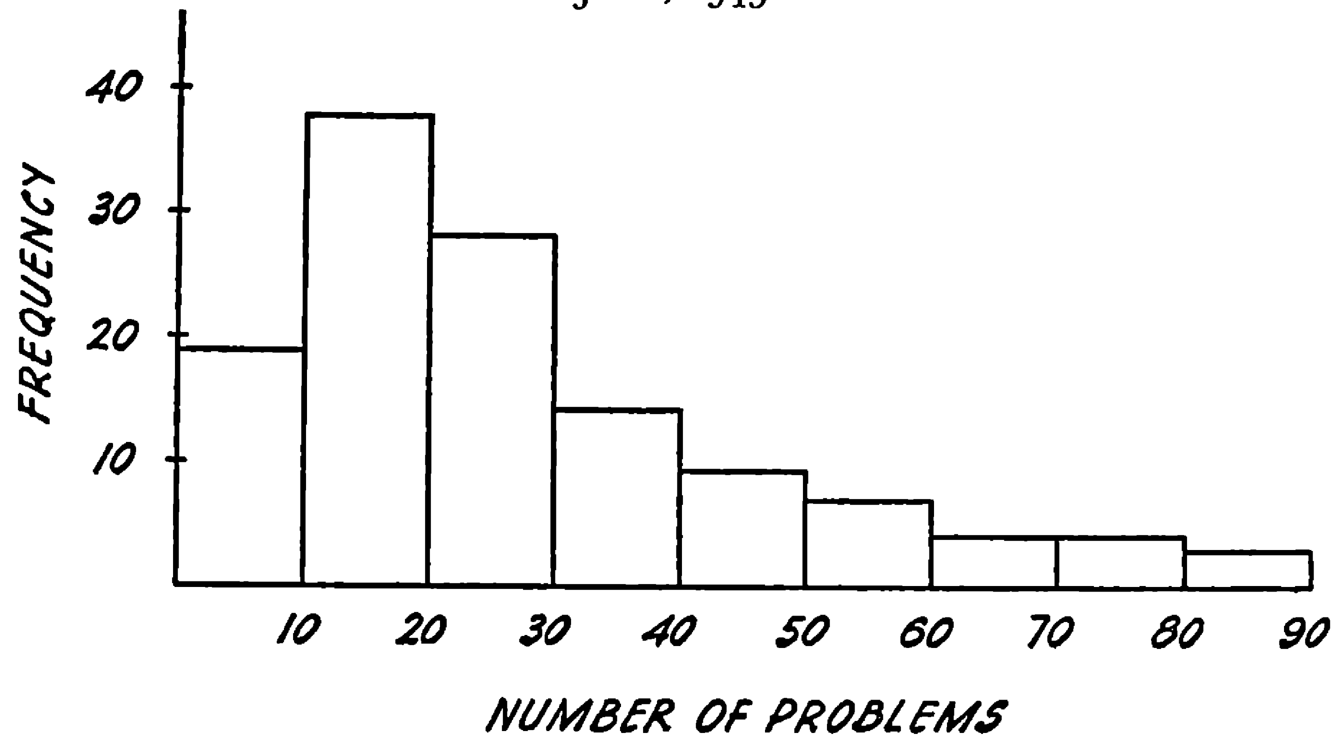
There was no consistent difference between boys and girls in the number of problems checked. In some schools boys checked more problems; in other schools girls checked more. The pattern was not the same from one year to another for these schools.

Usually, problems concerning home and family were checked least frequently and those of the school most frequently. Only health problems and miscellaneous problems — such as wanting to earn some money, making vocational choices, and having doubts about success — were as troublesome as school problems.

[1] Ross L. Mooney, *The Problem Check List* (Columbus: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1942; now issued by The Psychological Corporation, New York).

PROBLEMS CHECKED BY 118 GRADUATES
OF ONE DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL

Mooney *Problem Check List*
June, 1945



The nature of the most troublesome problems for 8A boys and girls is indicated by the following table, which shows the most frequently indicated problems for 128 elementary school graduates from two participating schools.

The results from the use of the Mooney *Problem Check List* show (1) that there is a wide range in the number of problems of young people, (2) that there are great individual differences in the nature of problems, and (3) that school problems are consistently among the more pressing problems which young people are willing to admit.

One teacher, after examining the problems checked, reflected the sentiments of many teachers when she said, "Maybe we don't have all the truth about pupil problems, but if the youngsters tell us they have these problems, we'd better try to do something about them."

Another test, the *California Test of Personality*,[1] is divided into two parts: self-adjustment and social adjustment. Each part is di-

[1] Willis W. Clark and others, *California Test of Personality* (Los Angeles: California Test Bureau, 1942).

TABLE 2*

ITEMS ON THE MOONEY PROBLEMS CHECK LIST MARKED BY AT LEAST 20 PER CENT OF A GROUP OF 8A BOYS AND GIRLS

Area and Items	Per cent of boys	Per cent of girls
HEALTH AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT		
Have trouble with my teeth	26	25
Trouble with my eyes	26	25
Underweight	22	
Overweight		25
Don't like some foods I need	22	
SCHOOL		
Getting low grades in school	43	
Trouble with spelling	39	
Too much school work to do at home	39	31
Trouble with arithmetic	35	
Worried about grades	35	
Being a grade behind in school	30	
Afraid of failing in school work	30	
Teachers too strict	30	
Can't read very well	26	
Don't like school	26	
Teachers expect too much work	26	44
Don't like to study	22	
Not interested in books	22	..
Afraid of tests		28
HOME AND FAMILY		
None		
MISCELLANEOUS		
Wondering if I'll be a success in life	43	28
Wanting to earn some of my own money	39	25
Afraid I won't get to go to college		28
Wondering what I'll be like ten years from now....		22
BOY AND GIRL RELATIONS		
Wanting to know more about girls	26	
Thinking too much of the other sex	26	
Wondering if I'll ever get married	26	25
Not allowed to use the family car	22	
Deciding whether I'm in love		22
Not knowing what to do on a date		22
RELATION TO PEOPLE IN GENERAL		
Losing my temper	26	25
Being teased		25
Wishing people liked me better		22
SELF-CENTERING CONCERNS		
Taking things too seriously	22	
Daydreaming		22

* This is Table 4 of Elmer F. Pflieger and Grace L. Weston, *op. cit.*, p. 15. It was adapted from Elmer F. Pflieger, "Pupil Adjustment Problems and a Study of Relationships between Scores on the *California Test of Personality* and the Mooney *Problem Check List*," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLI (1947), 276.

vided into six subclassifications. Elementary, intermediate, and secondary forms are available. Beginning in 1946 the test was given annually to the June graduating classes of the eight schools of the Study. The results are quite similar to those reported for the Mooney *Problem Check List.*[1] There was a wide range in the distribution of scores, with a fairly normal curve of distribution predominating in each school. Similar conditions probably exist in other schools, particularly in large industrial cities.

In this test the median score for students in each participating school was below the fiftieth percentile in total adjustment based on the norms given by the authors of the test. However, the validity of comparisons of students from the participating schools with those in and near Los Angeles who were tested by the authors for their norms may be doubtful, since not enough is known about the original testing population used by the authors of the test. The median scores did indicate that the Study should give serious attention to emotional adjustment as a problem in the schools.

A third test employed was *The Wishing Well.*[2] This was developed by Dr. Louis Raths as part of a theory called the "needs-hypothesis." This hypothesis will be discussed later in the chapter. The *Wishing Well* test consists of 160 items. Each item is a sentence expressing a wish, such as, "I wish there were more children my age to play with." Although the test was never used systematically as a mass-inventory type of test, it was used by some teachers as they became more deeply concerned about the nature of the adjustment problems of their pupils. The use of this testing instrument revealed again that pupil adjustment varied over a wide range from the very well adjusted to the very poorly adjusted.

REACTIONS OF PUPILS TO SCHOOLS

The reactions of pupils toward their school experience showed

[1] A correlation study between scores on the Mooney *Problem Check List* and the *California Test of Personality,* based on data from the Study, is reported in Elmer F. Pflieger, "Pupil Adjustment Problems and a Study of Relationships between Scores on the California Test of Personality and the Mooney Problem Check List," *Journal of Educational Research,* XLI (1947), 265–278.

[2] Bureau of Educational Research, *The Wishing Well* (Columbus: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1945).

that they, too, were aware of the role of adjustment in their lives. In both of the participating high schools, careful follow-up studies were made during one year of all those students who dropped out of school before graduation. In addition to the analysis of available data, interviews by one of four carefully chosen teachers were made at the home of each student who had quit school. The results of this study indicated that approximately 20 per cent of the students left school because of school difficulties, while 15 per cent dropped out because of personal maladjustment. These were the chief causes; other causes were the need for employment (14 per cent), getting married (11 per cent), and family difficulties (8 per cent). In the interviews a number of the former students and their parents expressed surprise that teachers were interested in why pupils leave school. They stated that no one at school had seemed to have time to help them with their problems.

In the schools, attempts were made to get additional information from pupils about their reactions to school. The Bell *School Inventory* was used to learn their chief gripes about school.[1] A special questionnaire was given annually to the graduates from each high school, and a simple opinionnaire was administered occasionally to the junior high schools and the elementary schools.[2] The reactions of pupils disclosed by these methods showed that personal adjustment to school was a major problem in their lives.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT

As the participants in the Study watched the varied reactions of teachers to pupil behavior, as they studied the test data showing the range of pupil adjustment, as they observed the reactions of pupils to their teachers and their schools, they came to one conclusion: Schools will have to give increased attention to the emotional adjustment of children if they are to develop better citizens.

As a result of these experiences the Staff agrees with the conclusions of the Staff of the Division of Child Development and

[1] Hugh M. Bell, *The School Inventory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1936).

[2] Arnold Meier, *Opinionnaire* (Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, 1946).

Teacher Personnel of the Commission on Teacher Education on the kind of occurrences that are "harmful to the best interests of children."

Among these deterrents to learning and adjustment are the following:

1. Children are often expected or required to learn things that are inappropriate to their abilities, developmental level, adjustment problems, or motivation.

2. Children are often expected or even required to behave in ways that are inappropriate to the individual's level of development, adjustment problems, family background, physical condition, or life situations outside of school.

3. Relationships that imply the full acceptance of, and respect for, each child as a person are not always developed and maintained by the teacher. Particular children are often disliked or neglected.

4. Relationships among children that imply acceptance of each other and belonging in the group are not always stimulated and fostered by the teacher. Individual children may for years remain isolated or rejected by their peers.

5. Praise and blame, reward and punishment, encouragement and repression are usually meted out to children almost exclusively in terms of the significance of a child's behavior for school policies, the teacher's purposes for the class, or the teacher's personal code of conduct or pet aversions. Children's actions are not always appraised in light of the factors — including personal purposes — that caused it, nor are remedial measures often planned in view of these factors.

6. The behavior of children is often controlled by means that humiliate them before their classmates, demean them in their own eyes, repress potentially valuable curiosity, or induce a sense of being misunderstood or unfairly treated.

7. Developmental tasks and adjustment problems with which children are struggling frequently go unrecognized, and help that could be given is not supplied.

8. The development of necessary skills and factual learning is often made difficult, or even prevented, by failure to take into consideration such factors as a child's physical

makeup, maturity level, growth rate, family situation, cultural background, status with classmates, lack of self-confidence, lack of security or trust in adults, limited experience, and consequent lack of prerequisite knowledge, skill, or interest.

9. Children with chronic infection or correctable physical handicaps are often not referred to clinics or physicians, and those referred are not always followed up until remedial treatment is accomplished; children with limited mental abilities often are not examined and given opportunity to learn at their own levels; children with severe emotional maladjustments or personality problems are not always referred to clinics for diagnosis or assisted in their adjustment by competent workers; delinquent children are often stigmatized and excluded without adequate diagnostic study or effort at adjustment; neglected children are often unrecognized as such, are not brought to the attention of appropriate social agencies, and are not given needed food, clothing, affection, status, and roles through the school.

10. Children who are successful in conforming to the learning and behavioral demands of the school usually are not studied carefully. Many of them leave school with important undiscovered or under-developed abilities, with various mistaken or warped attitudes, with selfish social goals and aspirations, with uncorrected habits of dominating or exploiting others, or with undetected personality cleavages. Many of these children will become unsuccessful and maladjusted later, others will actively retard the amelioration of current social problems, while still others represent a needless waste of important social resources.[1]

PRINCIPLES THAT HELPED

The range of emotional adjustment found in the eight participating schools is not believed to be unusual. With variations because of community conditions or administrative practices, similar conditions probably exist in most schools. The teachers in these

[1] Staff of the Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, *Helping Teachers Understand Children,* prepared for the Commission on Teacher Education (Washington: American Council on Education, 1945), pp. 455–57.

eight schools were probably above the average for this country. They were conscientious, hard-working, sincere persons with good training in present and past methods. Some of the principals and teachers were superior in insight, training, and experience to those on the Staff. Together we realized that our past experience was not good enough for the undertaking we had attempted. We all had much to learn.

During the four years of our association three explanatory principles proved to be particularly helpful in solving adjustment problems of pupils. These principles were not well-known to all of us at the start of the Study. Their importance did not come upon us suddenly. Rather, as we look backward, we realize that gradually we have come to recognize their value.

GROWTH PATTERNS

The first of these principles, stated in its simplest form, is this: Children grow at different rates. The individual child does not grow in all characteristics according to a continuous steady progression. Instead, growth is cyclical and seems to be related to secretions from the endocrine glands.

Not all children of the same age are at the same stage in the growth cycle. Girls usually mature a year or more before boys. The onset of adolescence covers a range of approximately five years in different children. Acquisition of the first skills of reading covers a similar range of ages. A few children are ready to take on reading at age five; most children are ready at age six; some children are not ready until later ages.

These growth patterns were not well-known — they were not influencing school practice to the extent that they should. They had not been studied in relation to the goals of a democratic society. To remedy this condition, therefore, one work-group of teachers and Staff members tried to state the chief characteristics of these growth patterns succinctly as a handy reference for teachers.[1] Reviewing the basic facts of child growth and development

[1] Grace L. Weston, Elmer F. Pflieger, and Mildred Peters, *Democratic Citizenship and Development of Children* (Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, Wayne University, 1949).

was an invaluable experience for all who participated in this work-group.

Principles of child growth are not, of course, new to even the occasional reader in the field of child psychology. Gesell, Olson, Prescott, and others have been active in promoting child growth ideas for many years. The important fact for a citizenship education program is that these ideas are not yet influencing school practice as effectively as they could, with the result in many schools that children are constantly frustrated.

NEEDS-HYPOTHESIS

A second principle that was influential with teachers was the needs-hypothesis as developed by Dr. Louis Raths and his students. This hypothesis postulates that there are eight basic needs that must be fulfilled if a person is to be well adjusted. These needs are as follows:

1. The need for love and affection
2. The need for belonging
3. The need for success
4. The need for freedom from overburdening guilt
5. The need to be free from oppressive fear
6. The need for economic security
7. The need for self-respect, sharing, and participation
8. The need for personal integration or a world outlook

This classification proved to be understandable and usable by classroom teachers. They were slowly able to change their relationships with pupils as recognition of the needs of children became part of their usual practice. Love and affection, belonging, and success were the three needs that seemed most influential in the lives of most children; and they were the needs which teachers were most successful in satisfying through classroom procedures. The other needs were more difficult to satisfy and usually required skilled therapy with individual pupils.

The *Wishing Well* test and a newer test, *Self-portrait*,[1] were helpful in locating unfulfilled needs. The *Self-portrait* contains thirty-six questions, with four sentences under each question. For each question a pupil is asked to select the sentence "which is *most* like you and the sentence which is *least* like you." The questions contain such items as "I get mad very often" and "I would rather read than play games."

Data from the *Wishing Well* for three girls from one fourth-grade class will indicate the variations in the extent to which needs were satisfied. The 160 items are keyed so that there are twenty items for each of the eight needs. Each wish that a pupil checks is considered to be symptomatic of an unfulfilled need. A score of twenty would indicate a complete failure to fulfil the need.

TABLE 3

UNFULFILLED NEEDS OF THREE GIRLS

	Sue	Bertha	Helen
Love and affection	8	5	2
Belonging	15	4	0
Success	13	5	2
Guilt	11	3	1
Fear	12	9	1
Economic security	1	6	1
Self-respect	9	5	0
World outlook	5	10	0
Total	74	47	7

Each girl's pattern of needs is different. Sue illustrates an extreme case of failure to fulfill needs, but it is possible that Helen has such a complete absence of unfulfilled needs that she is not going to be self-directing.[2]

In working with these needs, a testing device, the collection of sociometric data, proved useful in determining friendship pat-

[1] Bureau of Educational Research, *Self Portrait* (Columbus: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1948); mimeographed.

[2] A description of the ways one teacher used these tests is in Rose Marie Schmidt, "Testing Emotional Needs of Children" (unpublished master's essay, Wayne University, 1948).

terns. One illustration will help to explain the relationship of this device to the needs-hypothesis.

A teacher told a class that the following week the group would be organized into committees to develop special activities. She then stated that most people know certain persons with whom they would prefer to work and also know persons with whom they would rather not work. The teacher then gave each pupil a sheet of paper on which to record the names of the three pupils he would most like to work with on a committee and the names of any pupils he would really prefer not to work with on a committee. After these names were listed by the pupils, the papers were collected; the following week the committees were organized according to the preferences listed.

The teacher, however, studied these choices for a larger purpose than that of organizing committees. Tabulating the choices according to a simple system, she ascertained the number of times each member of the class was chosen and the number of times each was not chosen or was rejected.[1]

In one class the teacher noted these differences for two boys. John N. was chosen nine times and no pupil rejected him. In contrast, Tom R. was not chosen by any pupil and was rejected by thirteen pupils. The teacher concluded that John was wanted; he was well accepted and his need for belonging was satisfied. But what about Tom? No one wanted to work on a committee with him; thirteen pupils rejected him. What about his need for belonging? Unless this need is satisfied in some other manner than in that classroom, the chances are good that Tom will have difficulty in learning; he may come to hate school, to dislike people, and may develop into a poor citizen.

Some such analysis of friendship patterns by the use of socio-

[1] Several references are available for an explanation of the use of sociometric data. Most of these recommend a more complex study of the data than we have found useful with classroom teachers. The complex study is very useful once a teacher has become concerned about friendship patterns, but the simpler tabulation described has been more productive in initiating teachers to this device. A useful reference is Helen H. Jennings, *Sociometry in Group Relations* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1948).

metric devices proved to be one useful key to help teachers understand the importance of one basic need—belonging. While other needs were not so easily located, needs fulfillment provided a theory that seemed to aid teachers in their understanding of children and contributed to the quality of learning by children.[1]

The effect of unfulfilled needs has been noted particularly by those who have worked primarily with maladjusted children. For all children, the consequences of certain school practices have been summarized well in these words:

> Children who fail, who are frequently expelled or rejected from the classroom, who are motivated by threat, fear, or punishment, neither feel that they belong nor have any measure of security or status in their school life. This serious lack of status or belonging which characterizes too large a proportion of children in the classroom invariably has serious consequences in the child's efforts to achieve a position of prominence with his age group.[2]

SOCIAL CLASS

A third explanatory principle that aided teachers in their understanding of children was that of social class as developed by Allison Davis, John Dollard, Lloyd Warner, and others. These investigators hold that the behavior of people is determined to a great degree by the social class of which they are a part and by their struggles to rise in the social-class system.

[1] For further explanation and evidence of the needs-hypothesis see Louis Raths, "Knowing Effective Ways of Working," *Childhood Education,* XXIV (1947), 56–61, and *An Application to Education of the Needs Theory* (Bronxville, New York: Modern Education Service, 1949); Louis E. Raths and Anna P. Burrell, *Do's and Don't's of the Needs Theory* (Bronxville, New York: Modern Education Service, 1949); Kathryn Feyereisen, "Eliminating Blocks to Learning," *Educational Leadership,* V (1948), 527–35, and "Improving the Learning of Pre-Adolescents Through Emotional Needs Therapy" (unpublished doctoral dissertation. Ohio State University, 1947); and Anna Carol Fultz, "Improving Learning Through an Emphasis on Human Relations in an In-Service Teacher Education Program," *Abstracts of Doctor's Dissertations, No. 52* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1947).

[2] William C. Kvaraceus, "The Role of the Administrator in Relation to Juvenile Delinquency," Chap. VI of Nelson D. Henry, editor, *Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools,* Part I of the *Forty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 134. Quoted by permission of the Society.

Teachers are predominantly members of the middle class. For example, their eating habits, recreational patterns, magazine reading, and ethical standards are the result of child-rearing in middle-class homes. When teachers expect and require similar behavior of children who have been reared in a different social-class environment conflict results.

The conflict is not easily discernible between upper-class children and middle-class teachers because there are relatively few children of the upper class in public schools. The conflict between many middle-class teachers and lower-class children is very serious today, since, in the past twenty years, more and more lower-class children have stayed in school through the secondary school years. For these lower-class children, attitudes toward fighting, swearing, noise, and table manners are completely different from those acceptable to their middle-class teachers. Until teachers learn that the things they condemn so heartily are not caused by a perverse nature or by a natural depravity but are learned behavior from the culture, situations in schools attended by lower-class children cannot be improved markedly.

Two anecdotes may aid the reader who is not acquainted with the social-class theory. In one school, teachers were greatly distressed by noise. There was noise in the halls, a constant undertone of buzzing in the classrooms. The teachers were distressed about the noise until a social worker pointed out to them that the children were of the lower class and that many of them attended noisy churches, where they were taught that noise was important in their religion. The noise in that school has probably not decreased and the teachers still try for a reasonable amount of quiet; but their acute distress is disappearing because they have a better insight into the origin of some of the noise.

In another school, teachers were constantly annoyed by children playing with pennies, in the myriad ways that children can devise. In a study group with parents the teachers stated their problem. The tension of the teachers was eased when a mother explained that in their homes they could not afford many toys and that from babyhood the children were taught to use pennies for entertain-

ment. She added that as parents they just hadn't taught their children that there were some places where you do not play with pennies. From this mother's statement the teachers caught a new insight into the problems of lower-class children, and they were no longer so disturbed by their failure to control the use of pennies in their classrooms.[1]

The social-class theory seems, from our experience, to have profound implications for the entire future of education. Most children in public schools are lower-class children; they provide the mass base for democracy. Yet, the education of most of these children is not yet effective for developing good citizens. In blighted areas of large cities the education of these children is an acute problem. The citizenship level of this country could be raised immeasurably if the education of lower-class children were to receive the serious attention of school administrators and curriculum workers.

SCHOOL PRACTICES THAT HELPED

Concern about the adjustment of children causes people to look at the school—the total school—through new eyes. There is not an aspect of the school that does not seem to contribute to adjustment—for good or ill. Yet, the single most important factor of the school in dealing with adjustment problems is the classroom teacher. Some of the early Staff experiences in aiding classroom teachers with these problems involved helping them to develop a better understanding of important explanatory principles.

As teachers grew in their understanding of children, a practical question arose: How can responsibility for satisfactory adjustment of pupils be fixed so that each teacher feels he is making a direct contribution to their better adjustment? This question confronted the Study during its entire existence. There were elementary teachers who said, "It's my business to teach reading. Let the principal worry about children's frustrations." There were secondary-school teachers who said, "I was hired to teach history (or

[1] For a succinct statement of social-class theory see Allison Davis, *Social-class Influences upon Learning* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948).

mathematics, or Latin, or English) Let the counselors take care of these personal problems." There were administrators who said—by some of the obstacles they put in the way of change—"Schools have evolved about as far as they can. Now don't upset my organization by these new theories."

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

The eight participating schools for many years had been departmentalized schools with teachers highly trained in subject-matter. Consequently, suggestions for modifying the organizational pattern to fix responsibility for getting better-adjusted students met with serious rebuffs. Resistance to change was strongest in the area where exploration and experimentation seemed most desirable.

Struggling with this complex problem, we evolved an hypothesis that we hoped could be tested in schools at three different levels—elementary, junior high, and senior high. This hypothesis was as follows: If pupils remain with teachers a longer period of time, the teacher will come to understand the pupils better; and, therefore, pupils will become better adjusted.

To test its validity, we used various procedures, trying them out at different grade levels. In the elementary grades, in a few situations, pupils remained with one teacher all day—in contrast to the usual pattern in Detroit in which a pupil spends half the day with a homeroom teacher and the other half of the day with the special teachers. In one school a pattern of organization developed in which three teachers taught all the pupils in the first and second grades. In another school pupils in the early grades remained with homeroom teachers for more than one semester. Whether because of insecurity, resistance, or unavoidable population changes, these patterns of organization never really "jelled." The shifting of pupils, changes in the size of the faculties, questions raised by supervisory personnel, and our own inability to get objective measures destroyed each attempt in the elementary grades to get experimental evidence concerning the hypothesis. From our experience we can only testify that there is great need to test the effect of school

organization on the adjustment of pupils in the elementary grades. Such evidence as we obtained indicated that the quality of the teacher was more important than the plan of organization; but that leaves unanswered the important question: Does the kind of school organization influence the quality of the teacher? We think it does, but we cannot *prove* it. We do *believe* that a teacher who has direct, continuous responsibility for certain children establishes a relationship with pupils which is conducive to good emotional adjustment.

In the secondary schools, although resistances were equally great, certain organizational patterns developed which give evidence that leaving pupils with teachers a longer period of time is beneficial. In one junior high school a project evolved in which three teachers—an English teacher, a mathematics teacher, and a social studies teacher—taught all the pupils of one entering grade for three years, from the seventh through the ninth grade. These pupils went to other teachers on certain days of the week for shop, art, music, and health-education classes. In another junior high school, social studies and English were combined into one class in order that pupils would be with one teacher for a longer period. During one year in one of these schools, the worst problem cases were removed from the classes of a good many teachers and united into one class, which one teacher taught as a self-contained classroom; that is, this group of pupils remained with this one teacher all day. In the same school another teacher taught a typical group in a self-contained room for two semesters.[1]

The evidence from these junior high school experiments shows:

1. That pupils did equally well in English and social studies regardless of the pattern of organization.

2. That pupils were somewhat better adjusted when they had fewer teachers and remained a longer period of time with them.

3. That the teachers, particularly those who taught the same

[1] A more complete description of these projects and the supporting data will be found in Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952).

pupils for three years, exhibited much greater concern for these pupils and developed more professional skill in their relationships with them.

4. That the removal of the most difficult problem children was valuable only as a strategic measure to solve an immediate problem. It did not have long-time values. New problem cases developed in the classes from which the pupils had been removed, and the problem class was very wearing on the teacher. Although the problem pupils were somewhat better adjusted, they were not more so than their counterparts in the other experimental classes.

5. That the morale of the teachers improved because of their feeling that they were free to experiment with different types of organization.

On the senior high school level a few teachers tried teaching the same pupils a subject for a year instead of changing classes each semester. Some teachers experimented with classes meeting for two consecutive periods. Difficulties of adjusting programs, and obstacles of other sorts, made it impossible to obtain adequate experimental data on these projects.

In one high school, however, there was a tenth-grade project that warrants careful attention.[1] At this school there was a slow movement during three years toward a program of general education, commonly called a "core curriculum" or a "common-learnings program." In terms of the adjustment problems in the school, some better orientation to the school for the incoming tenth-grade pupils seemed imperative. The core program appeared to be a solution, but was contrary to long-standing school traditions and was opposed by some subject-matter department heads. In spite of opposition, a core program was finally instituted for the last year of the Study under a course title, "Effective Learning." A group of tenth-graders was in the course for two periods a day throughout the year.

The evaluation of this program consisted, in part, of a compari-

[1] An account of this high school project will be found in Elmer Pflieger and Grace Weston, *op. cit.*

son of the Effective Learning students with a comparable group of students in another Detroit high school and with a comparable group of students of the previous year from the same high school. From this comparison, the experimenters arrived at two conclusions: (1) the Effective Learning students, in spite of the fears of subject-matter specialists, did just as well in English and in social studies as the other students; (2) the Effective Learning students developed better adjustment, as measured by a personality inventory, and the other students did not.[1]

The Staff members of the Study who worked with this program realize the inconclusiveness of their data. Much more experimentation is needed. However, in terms of the personal-adjustment problems of adolescents in large high schools, we do raise this question: "Can a pattern of high school organization developed for college preparation goals be justified in view of the accumulating evidence that other methods of organization produce as good if not better results?"

It is our belief that large high schools in metropolitan areas would be wise to experiment with a type of organization that would place responsibility on a counselor and a small group of teachers for the entire high school education of a particular group of students. In schools with enrollments of fifteen hundred to four thousand, too many boys and girls never have satisfying school experiences. The resulting frustration of basic needs can be a major cause of poor citizenship.[2]

In the consideration of practical procedures by which to bring about the satisfactory emotional adjustment of all children, not only patterns of organization, but three other factors must receive our attention. These three are guidance, extracurricular activities, and content of courses. Each of these warrants greater

[1] The data supporting these conclusions are in Elmer Pflieger, "A Critical Analysis of a Consultative-Cooperative Method Designed to Produce Curriculum Change for Improved Citizenship" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne University, 1950), pp. 114–30.

[2] Patterns of organizing schools are discussed effectively in I. James Quillen and LaVone A. Hanna, *Education for Social Competence* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1948), pp. 94–106.

attention than is given in this volume; however, all three are dealt with more fully in other volumes of the Study reports.

GUIDANCE

The heart of school guidance seems to be in the proposition that each child needs to be related to some teacher in such a way that he feels the teacher to be his friend. In the elementary school this teacher is ideally the child's teacher for a particular grade or grades. As the pupil progresses into the higher grades, particularly if departmentalization increases, it becomes more difficult to ascertain who this teacher friend is. The school counselor is such a person for some children, but many children in large schools do not feel this relationship to their counselor.

The homeroom, or conference, period provides such a relationship when the homeroom teacher is sensitive to the guidance function. The schools in the Study spent considerable time trying to increase the effectiveness of these guidance periods. In the elementary schools the conference period was a relatively new idea. In the secondary schools the homeroom period had been employed for many years with varying degrees of success. At all these levels successful guidance depended on the ability of the teacher to create a relationship which was satisfying to pupils.

Even with a school organization that contributes to better guidance and with teachers who really understand children, schools will still need more highly skilled assistance than classroom teachers can reasonably be expected to have. In some cases teachers require the aid of more highly trained personnel. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers are important additions to school staffs if the level of citizenship is to be improved. To be really effective these specialists need to be involved directly with teachers in all types of school problems.

One example of a guidance project based on these principles was an experimental counseling center at one of the participating high schools. This center had a staff consisting of a counselor, a visiting teacher, a doctor, a dentist, a nurse, a stenographer, and a typist. Psychiatric aid was available on a limited basis. A clinic,

private offices for interviews, and a room for testing composed the office suite.[1] The staff of the center did the active counseling, and through a cooperative arrangement the Study carried on the testing program for the center.

The need for coordinating guidance services with teacher activities was demonstrated by the counseling center. It soon became apparent that to get effective results in guidance the counseling staff would have to work with the faculty on many school problems. During the entire period of our work with this school we found the director of the counseling center and the visiting teacher to be among the leaders in all work-groups on curriculum problems. Their philosophy, special training, and knowledge of pupils and of the community were a constant aid because they interacted with the teachers and did not remain apart from them.

This cooperative relationship between classroom teachers and suppliers of special services needs to be greatly extended in efforts to solve school citizenship problems. Other counselors and visiting teachers need to be invited and encouraged to work with curriculum committees. Juvenile police officers, staff workers from school psychological offices, area social workers, adult leaders of youth groups, and parents can be of great assistance in cooperative efforts to solve curriculum problems. From these cooperative experiences teachers learn much about their pupils and their problems. Guidance cannot be delegated to someone removed from the classroom; it is not a separate entity. Those with special training must work cooperatively with the classroom teacher.

EXTRACURRICULAR PROGRAMS

Extracurricular programs also provide many opportunities for pupils to have experiences which contribute to their adjustment. Basic needs of pupils are often fulfilled through these activities. Surveys of the extent of participation in these activities reveal that many pupils do not have opportunities for these experiences. For some children school is a place to go to a series of classrooms and

[1] Arthur A. Diekoff, *A Summary Report of a Five-Year Experiment in Guidance and Counseling* (Detroit: The Board of Education, 1949).

then go home. For other children school is a place where, in addition to going to classrooms, they belong to clubs, participate in school contests, give service to others by serving as hall guards, library assistants, or office assistants. The latter group of students usually finds school an interesting place. The former group includes many children who find school dull and uninteresting and who are not well adjusted.

Failure to participate in extracurricular activities seems to arise chiefly from one of two causes. First, some schools do not allow participation if a high academic achievement is not maintained. In our judgment this is a type of disenfranchisement of the student citizen. These exclusions are based on the premise that academic subjects are *the* most important aspect of a school. This premise is false; the *experiences* a school provides are the essentials. These experiences can be curricular *and* extracurricular; blanket rules should not determine which experiences are to be available to the individual child. Participation in extracurricular activities could well be determined through individual counseling in the same manner that decisions are made as to whether a pupil is to take a course in mathematics or literature during a particular school year. Even those who insist that academic subjects are the most important experiences provided by a school should consider further before denying extracurricular activities to those without high academic records. It would be well for them to study the import of the research indicating that as needs are fulfilled learning of traditional subject-matter is improved. It may be that the way to get a boy to read better is to satisfy a need for success by allowing him to join a school band.

A second major cause of exclusion from school activities may arise because of social-class distinctions in the school. The better dressed, those from the "right" side of the tracks, may have taken over the extracurricular program of the school. If this has occurred, the great mass of pupils will be deprived of the adjustment opportunities inherent in extracurricular programs. If class distinction has dominated the life of the school, a fairly long evolution will be required to change the situation, because cultural

patterns do not change quickly. Increasing the number of activities and analyzing the ways of selecting students for activities may provide clues for changing the antidemocratic system that exists when an aristocracy controls the extracurricular program.

NEW SUBJECT-MATTER

New subject-matter provides another approach to improving pupil adjustment. The schools of the Study, on both elementary and secondary levels, experimented with new courses and new materials as a way to provide better adjustment for pupils. Courses in which the nature and problems of the home and of the family were studied seemed beneficial. Whether under the title of "Home and Family Living" or that of "Social Living," these courses were valuable because they enabled pupils to talk out their tensions through discussion of the individual and his relation to groups.

A closely related subject-matter area included the courses that dealt with personal problems. A course in personal relations for tenth-graders in one school was of value because it grew out of the actual problems of the pupils in the class. At the end of one semester pupils were asked to recall the four or five problems discussed which were of particular interest to them. The rank order of the fifteen problems most frequently mentioned was: manners, boy and girl relations, sex problems, clothes, compulsory military training, getting a job, use of leisure time, delinquency, sports, getting ready to be married, elections, budgets, religion, racial tolerance, music.

In another school, pupils were asked by means of a carefully developed system to submit problems which they would like to discuss or on which they would like help. These problems were classified and anonymity preserved by a committee of teachers. Finally a case book "Let's Discuss the Case" was prepared. This book provided a variety of problems from which a class could choose problems for discussion.

In the Effective Learning program mentioned earlier, specific units were developed which gave opportunities for discussion of

personal and group problems. A unit on orientation to high school and a unit on newspapers were common in all the classes of the seven teachers who taught these classes for a full year. Other units were developed by pupils and teachers and varied from one class to another. At the end of the year 77 per cent of the pupils felt that future tenth graders should have a similar course in Effective Learning.

After new patterns of organization have been developed, counseling has been improved, extracurricular activities have been made available to all, and new content has been introduced into courses, one must return again to the individual teacher. Pupil adjustment will be improved — better citizens will be developed — to the extent that teachers have a feeling of love and affection for each child, provide experiences so that each child can be successful, and aid children to develop friendships. Each teacher must be the understanding, sympathetic, considerate friend for some child; each child must find in the daily life of the school at least one teacher who is a real friend. Only when this optimum condition exists will schools be fulfilling their true citizenship education function.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the experiences gained in the Study concerning problems of emotional adjustment, the following conclusions and recommendations are made:

1. The missing ingredient in citizenship education programs is a course of action by which to bring about the satisfactory emotional adjustment of all children.

2. The more recent principles of child growth and development are not sufficiently well known by faculties to modify school practices in accordance with these principles. Supervisory practices and in-service education programs had not been effective in getting the theories of rate of growth, needs, or social class into the thinking and practice of principals, teachers, or the Staff at the beginning of the Study. The consultative-cooperative procedures

employed in the Study did increase the understanding of basic principles.[1]

3. Teaching practices of classroom teachers, when judged in terms of their contribution to pupil adjustment, cover a wide range from very good to very bad. Teaching practices in schools where lower-class children predominate require special attention. Citizenship education can be greatly improved for the masses of lower-class people if schools in these areas are aided to adjust their practices in the light of the cultural background of the pupils.

4. Each classroom teacher should have a fixed responsibility for the emotional and educational adjustment of a certain number of pupils. Leaving pupils with the same teacher a longer period of time seems one way to increase teacher responsibility. Three systems to accomplish this goal were explored and warrant continued trial: scheduling pupils into courses by the year instead of by the semester; leaving pupils with the same group of teachers for several years; and having one teacher teach the same pupils several subjects. There was considerable resistance in the participating schools to these organizational changes.

5. The coordination of the activities of persons who are influencing the same children needs increased attention. Efforts need to be made to unify the activities of the classroom teachers, the counselor, the visiting teacher, the supervisor, the juvenile officer, the psychological clinic worker, the area social worker, and the parents. The sharing of information by these persons about pupils and school problems is helpful. The development of team concepts among the members of the school faculty is one important step in this direction.

6. There is need for more employment of anecdotal records,

[1] Readers should know, also, that since 1947 the Detroit Public Schools, in cooperation with the University of Michigan and Wayne University, have conducted special courses in Education for Mental Health, which were planned by psychiatrists, professors of education, teachers, and school administrators. By June, 1950, more than two thousand teachers had enrolled in these courses. The Study was in no way responsible for these courses and mentions them only to indicate that the lack of understanding which was apparent in 1945 could easily no longer be true.

problem check lists, personality inventories, and analyses of friendship patterns. Many teachers do not know enough about individual pupils to help with their adjustment problems. Available information is frequently not used.

7. Highly qualified, skilled specialists are needed to assist classroom teachers with the more complex adjustment problems of pupils. There is need for increased psychiatric and social work service to the individual school by persons accepted by the faculty as participating members of the school.

8. Extracurricular programs are valuable in bringing about the good adjustment of pupils. These programs need to be made available to more pupils. The chief causes of exclusion are academic standards and social-class distinctions.

9. Courses in personal relations, in home and family living, and in the core curriculum aid in the adjustment of pupils. Pupil discussion of personal problems in group situations under a teacher skilled in discussion leadership seems to have good therapy values.

CHAPTER FOUR

Democracy: The Basic Philosophy

The Study proposes to examine the values now held by the young people in the schools and to encourage a growing commitment to the democratic values in action.[1]

THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

DEMOCRACY IS THE single word which is used most frequently to describe the way of life to which Americans give allegiance. We talk about our democratic way of life, our democratic government, of democratizing schools, of making the world safe for democracy, of striving to get the past and present enemies of the United States to become democratic nations. We are afraid that we may lose democracy either through the inertia of our own people or because a dictator may defeat us in a world struggle.

Fear that the democratic way of life is in grave danger has caused great concern for the quality of citizenship education. Zeal for teaching democracy has been enormously stimulated. In the wake of this new interest, however, are some new and perplexing problems. Accusations of "Communist" have aroused suspicion. Books and other instructional materials have been scrutinized by lay and professional people to insure that they do not have subversive ideas. The methods employed in loyalty probes have caused anxiety to many teachers, with resulting insecurity.

Intensely loyal teachers and administrators in many parts of the nation have attempted to improve their teaching about democracy as they saw the democratic way of life under attack. This has not been an easy task, because schools are subject to great

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* p. 5.

social pressures, because there are honest differences of opinion about the meaning of democracy, and because not enough is known about ways to teach democracy.

The social forces at work during the five years of the Study underlined the necessity of giving great attention to teaching about democracy, just as the school situations described in the preceding chapter forced the Study to devote large blocks of time and energy to gaining a better understanding of children. The Study did not operate in a vacuum. The participating schools, the faculties, and the Staff were subject to the pressures of social forces as they were felt in Detroit from 1945 to 1950. Consider a few of the significant social episodes that occurred during the life of the Study: the end of World War II, lengthy strikes in automobile plants, the Berlin air lift, a threatened strike of Detroit teachers, a Presidential election, two elections of Detroit city officials, the use of the veto in the UN, a tremendous inflation, a recession, a housing shortage, the cold war with Russia. Against a backdrop of such shifting scenes the Study Staff worked with many teachers on ways by which the young people in our schools could learn more about democracy.

The word *democracy* itself is such a vague, general word that it presents troubles to those who are most concerned about teaching democracy. There is no readily acceptable definition of the word, even though it has come to encompass all of the best that America stands for. Indeed, there are people who prefer other words to describe the values and ideals of Americans. Some people prefer the word *republic;* others prefer the phrase *the American way of life.* The Staff has used *democracy* as the one word which most readily identifies the basic philosophy of the people of the United States. We do not quarrel with others who prefer another label. Our experience in working with teachers and pupils has pointed up the need for *all* citizens to think more carefully about the ideas they include when they refer to democracy, republic, or the American way of life.

In our attempts to understand democracy better, there were two conflicting ideals which seemed to be essential parts of our way of

life.[1] On the one hand, democracy cherishes human liberty—the freedoms of the individual must be inviolate. The true democrat will never give up the basic freedoms. They are "inalienable rights." On the other hand, the Constitution and the writings of great American leaders have made "concern for the general welfare" an equally essential part of our way of life. In this technological twentieth century, liberty and the general welfare have been more obviously in conflict than in other historical periods. The Bill of Rights, the system of checks and balances, the separation of powers, and the rule by majority with complete legal respect for the rights of minorities have been effective devices for bringing about compromises between the extremes of individual liberty and the general welfare. The great issues that seem to be surging throughout the world get involved in the question: What is the proper balance between these two important ideals?

An editorial in *The American Scholar* describes this conflict as follows:

> American democracy conceives human welfare under two main heads. The Declaration lists them as freedom and equality, the Constitution as the blessings of liberty and the general welfare. They are not coordinate and coextensive. Each limits the other. Historical circumstances at times set them at loggerheads. The problem of a democracy is to reconcile these ever recurring conflicts. So many civilizations, including democracies, have failed since they have not recognized that in a changing world they must continually create a humanly acceptable balance where no pre-established harmony exists.[2]

The great need of our society is to think seriously about the meaning of democracy. People need to decide what they really

[1] Two major projects concerned with aspects of the problem of the meaning of democracy evolved in this study. Pamphlets developed in these projects are Florence D. Cleary, Alice M. Davis, and Arnold R. Meier, *Understanding Democracy* (Detroit: The Citizenship Education Study and Wayne University, 1948) and Mildred Peters, Elmer F. Pflieger, and Grace L. Weston, *Democratic Citizenship and Development of Children* (Detroit: The Citizenship Education Study and Wayne University, 1949).

[2] Christian Gauss, "Can We Live With Our Enemies? An Editorial," *The American Scholar,* XVIII (1948), 10. Quoted with the permission of the author's estate.

mean by the word, not only in terms of general phrases, but in terms of such specific problems as race relations, management versus labor, standard of living, and means of communication. As Howard Mumford Jones has said,

> . . . the most serious educational demand in the United States at the moment [is] a democratic dynamic as vital to the democratic states as the Communist dynamic of education seems to be to Russia.[1]

STUDENT REACTIONS TOWARD DEMOCRACY

Are students thinking seriously about democracy? How do they define democracy? Are our young people loyal to democratic ideals? Adults are asking these questions sincerely; they are rightfully concerned about the attitudes of young citizens.

These questions are difficult ones to answer. There are no convenient yardsticks to measure loyalty to, or understanding of, democracy. Most adults, until recent years, seemed to assume that growing up in our type of society would automatically result in young people becoming loyal. Not until 1939 was a serious attempt made, on a nation-wide scale, to discover answers to some of these questions. In that year investigators for the Educational Policies Commission visited ninety high schools in twenty-seven states to seek evidences of democracy in educational practice. In these schools pupils were asked, among other inquiries, to write brief essays about the meaning of democracy. These spontaneous paragraphs were written in classes without previous preparation or warning. The investigators concluded after analyzing 2006 essays that

> . . . of the 90 per cent who gave intelligible definitions, over two-thirds defined democracy solely in terms of rights and liberties without reference to the responsibilities entailed. Fewer than one-third gave evidence of awareness that in a democracy citizens have obligations as well as privileges.[2]

[1] Howard Mumford Jones, *Education and World Tragedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), p. 89.

[2] Educational Policies Commission, *Learning The Ways of Democracy* (Washington: National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, 1940), p. 47. Quoted with the permission of the Commission.

WRITTEN DEFINITIONS

This same testing device was employed by the Study. Hundreds of spontaneous paragraphs written by pupils at different age levels have been analyzed. The same conclusion is reached: students define democracy almost entirely in terms of rights; rarely do they define in terms of obligations. In most cases they do not give evidence of having thought seriously about the nature of American democracy.

The results from twenty-three eleventh and twelfth grade social studies classes from several Detroit high schools are typical. Without prior warning the students were given a sheet of paper with the following directions at the top:

> During the Senatorial controversy over the appointment of David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, he was asked the question, "What does democracy mean to you?" You are being asked that question today. What is your answer? Please write your answer in the space given below.

The papers of these students — there were 812 — were read and analyzed in two ways. First they were studied to determine the extent to which the students realized that freedom is an essential part of democracy. In this procedure any mention of the words *freedom* or *liberty* was scored as showing that the student recognized that freedom was an important aspect of the democratic way of life. Slightly more than 90 per cent of these students made some statement indicating their recognition of freedom as being an ingredient of democracy.

The second analysis was made to determine the contrast the students made between rights and obligations. Under "Rights" were tabulated those items which indicated that the student was thinking primarily of his own personal advantages from living in a democracy. Under "Obligations" were tabulated items which indicated that the student was thinking of his responsibilities to others. Admitting the difficulty of objectively scoring the essays and allowing for instances in which there was indefiniteness, the

results showed that 84.2 per cent of the statements concerned rights and 15.8 per cent concerned obligations. Some idea of the nature of these statements can be gained from Table 4, which is made from a sample of 163 papers.

The analysis of papers from these classes is presented as typical for most high schools. The pattern of replies is almost identical from one school to another; rights are stressed—obligations are mentioned infrequently.

TABLE 4

RIGHTS VERSUS OBLIGATIONS [1]

(163 students—768 ideas)

Rights	No. of ideas	Obligations	No. of ideas
Bill of Rights idea	311	To work together	12
Do-as-I-please concept	68	Within-the-law reservation	16
Opposed to dictatorship	40	Within reason reservation	3
Political mechanics aspect	78	Regardless of race, color, or creed reservation	14
		To build a better world	5
Class conscious idea	10	To participate	7
Free enterprise idea	23	To help one another	8
Education idea	37	To build a better country	3
Clichés	78	To respect people	5
Other	45	Obligations must be fulfilled	5
Total	690	Total	78

Tabulating systems, of course, do not reveal the range of ideas about the meaning of democracy which students express. The use of the traditional phrases — a government of, by, and for the people; all men are created equal; and the Four Freedoms — is common. Sometimes students record four freedoms even though they

[1] This table should be read that 163 pupils expressed 768 different ideas about democracy, of which 311 are associated with the "Bill of Rights," 12 are associated with "working together," 68 are associated with the concept "do as I please," and 16, with the reservation about doing things "within the law."

may have to invent a third or fourth one. Tabulations do not show, either, the frankness of the student who thinks of democracy as a "do-as-I-please" system. Similarly, objective scoring does not show the occasional student who has rare insight and seems to have thought seriously about democracy. The answers of four high-school students are reproduced to show something of this range of attitude and understanding.

1. To me democracy means a way of life. It means respecting the opinion of others, although I disagree with them. It means respecting the law, although I might disagree with it. It means treating my fellow human being with the respect and dignity which he deserves.

   Democracy to me is "The rule of the majority with the protection of the rights of the minority." It means equality under the law and as much personal liberty as possible.

   Democracy means individual and group rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of worship, freedom of press, as well as all other traditional freedoms.

   But democracy also means duty. It entails the duty of protecting our democracy from all dangers to it, as well as the duty of making it work.

   Throughout history there has been a constant fight between those who wish to enslave their fellow men and those who want freedom for all men. We have just completed a war in which the Nazi and Jap totalitarian dictatorships were defeated.

   Yet the struggle for a world wherein all men are free is not yet won. America must be constantly on its guard lest the disease of dictatorship come to our shores.

   We must also guard against the danger of laziness in voting. For only through the use of the ballot box can we get good government. If we do sleep instead of vote, political bosses and subversive influences can capture our government before we know what is happening.

   We must also be alert to the danger of the government itself doing away with our liberty. Under the cloak of "security" the government can abridge our democracy. There

are constantly at work other forces which want to destroy this democracy which was so hard to construct.

It was truly said, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

2. Democracy means to me the Four Freedoms. Freedom of speech, Freedom of religion, Freedom of press, and—most of all—Freedom of want. It gives me all of these and then more. It gives us the right to do what we want to do, when we want to do it. The right to vote and a lot of other things makes our government and our country better to live in.
3. To me democracy means to be free to do as I please. Having the four freedoms. Liberty and justice for everyone.
4. Democracy means that I can choose the way in which I want to live my life. I am free to say and express my opinions. Democracy means a chance to get ahead. It means all people are created equal no matter what color your skin is or how wealthy you are.

ATTITUDE TESTS

Another way to determine the reactions of students toward democracy is the employment of an attitude scale. During the war years, when the Study was started, the Staff reviewed the available attitude scales which purported to test democratic attitudes. Because of printing and copyright difficulties, not all tests were available for our use. The Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes was selected for the testing program.[1] By permission of the author, forty-seven items from this test were reproduced in an attitude scale titled, "What Do You Think?" which was used extensively with students in the Study, and given annually to the June graduating classes of the four participating secondary schools.

Each test item consists of a sentence concerning which a pupil is asked to express whether he strongly agrees, agrees, is uncertain, disagrees, or strongly disagrees. An attitude considered by the author to be strongly favorable to democracy is scored 5, one favor-

[1] G. A. Collyer, "A Study of the Attitude Variable, Allegiance to Democratic Values, with a Group of Selected Junior College and High School Students" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1944).

able to democracy is scored 4, uncertainty is scored 3, one unfavorable to democracy is scored 2, and one strongly unfavorable is scored 1. Addition of the scores on the forty-seven items yields a total test score, which can be divided by the number of items to show an attitude score.

With all the graduating classes tested, the attitudes of students (based on mean scores) were favorable to democracy, with the highest mean score for any year being 3.81 and the lowest mean score being 3.54. There were great differences in individual scores, ranging from 2.5 to 4.7. Approximately 3 per cent of the students tested would be considered slightly anti-democratic in terms of the author's definition of democracy, which consists of three points:

1. A high regard for the worth of the individual;
2. Reciprocal individual and group responsibility for promoting common concerns;
3. The free play of intelligence in the solution of common problems.

A special study was made of the answers from a random sample of two hundred high school graduates to each of the forty-seven items. Five examples from this item study are given in Table 5 to show the general range of attitude reflected among these high school students.

From the written statements, from the attitude tests, and from daily contacts with many students, it seems clear that these young Detroiters were democratic, but in a vague, generalized sort of way. They were loyal to democracy, but they weren't too sure what democracy meant.

HYPOTHESES FOR IMPROVING THE TEACHING OF DEMOCRACY

Teachers differed in their reactions toward these measures of democratic attitudes and understandings. Some dismissed the results with a brief comment, "Of course our boys and girls are democratic." Some questioned the validity of the tests. Others expressed concern and bewilderment that students should write so little about obligations and be so positive about their rights.

TABLE 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY
OF
200 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES FROM TWO DETROIT HIGH SCHOOLS

Item No.		SA	A	U	D	SD	Omitted
		Per Cent					
5	It would be better if Negroes were always segregated in separate schools in the United States (D)[1]	19.0	13.8	11.9	16.6	38.0	.4
11	It is the right of married women to work for wages (A)	17.1	52.3	7.6	13.8	9.0	—
22	During an emergency, Congress should turn over all decision-making to the President and his advisors (D)	4.2	11.9	19.5	38.0	26.1	—
28	The low standard of living in many other countries should be a problem for Americans to help solve (A)	8.5	44.7	18.5	20.9	6.6	.4
40	Labor organizers should be excluded from a town where there has been no labor trouble (D)	7.6	20.4	15.7	43.8	12.9	—

Most teachers were concerned about behavior or conduct as the true measure of democratic teaching, as was described in the previous chapter. There was general concern about the lack of understanding of the democratic way of life.

The cooperative method employed in the Study gave many opportunities to discuss with teachers ways by which the teaching of democracy could be improved. Out of these discussions evolved three major projects which were directly concerned with teaching democracy: a seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-grade project, an

[1] The letter in parentheses after each item indicates the author's key for scoring.

eleventh-grade experiment, and a twelfth-grade experiment.[1] From these discussions and projects some increased understanding of procedures for teaching democracy was gained. This understanding will be described by means of five hypotheses which can be employed for teaching the democratic way of life. These hypotheses are as follows:

1. The culture-concept hypothesis. Democracy is learned as a by-product of growing up in a particular culture. The family, the church, the movie, the radio, the gang — the social environment — are the real determiners of democratic attitudes and understandings.
2. The emotional-appeals hypothesis. Democracy is taught through direct emotional appeals. The use of the Flag, the Pledge of Allegiance, the National Anthem, and other patriotic symbols is essential if democracy is to be taught properly.
3. The intellectual-understanding hypothesis. Democracy is learned by an intellectual process. Reading, studying, critical thinking, and discussing are mandatory if democracy is really to be learned.
4. The democratic-participation hypothesis. Democracy is learned through participation in activities where one can act democratically. Student government, election of student officers, and pupil-teacher planning are important ways to teach democracy.
5. The mental health hypothesis. Democracy is acquired most readily by those who have good mental health. The satisfaction of needs, elimination of tension, and removal of intensely frustrating blocks are aspects of the mental-health approach.

These hypotheses are the outgrowth of four years of serious thought on the part of the Staff and the teachers of the participating schools. They are a restatement of their thinking, a point of departure for future investigators. The Study does not have the

[1] The seventh to ninth grade project is described in Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary, and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952), Chap. VIII. The detailed data for the other experiments are among the unpublished materials of the Study.

final data on any one of these hypotheses. Rarely are the procedures implied by these hypotheses used in isolation from each other as rigid scientific experimentation would require. Such evidence as has been gained will be described below.

Unfortunately, although there is enormous concern about preserving democracy, little experimental evidence on the teaching of democracy is available. There are innumerable articles on indoctrination versus non-indoctrination without substantiating evidence as to the effects of one procedure or the other. There are many descriptions of school or classroom activities designed to teach democracy, but the *results* of the teaching are not reported. Because there is great need to *know* the effects of efforts to teach democracy, an attempt is made here to report what we have learned about these hypotheses. Others will need to state new hypotheses or to help confirm these. With the future of democracy at stake throughout the world, it seems imperative that more evidence be obtained on the question of how successfully to teach democracy to our youth.

THE CULTURE-CONCEPT HYPOTHESIS

This states that any individual is in major part a product of his particular culture. He is what his group is. While he is an individual, he is also a unit in a social group. A child reared in the United States would almost automatically develop the democratic attitudes of his particular neighborhood. But, if that same child, at age one or two, had been moved to Russia and reared in a Communist environment, he would have communistic rather than democratic attitudes.

Sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists have learned to have profound respect for the culture of a society. Culture patterns seem to be the brakes which prevent rapid change, for changes in the individual occur only as the culture changes. Stuart Chase, commenting on the culture concept, writes:

> Theoretically, a society could be completely made over in something like fifteen years — the time it takes to inculcate a

> new culture into a rising crop of youngsters. But such a theory assumes that parents, nurses, teachers, have all been re-educated themselves, ready for the inculcating task—which as Euclid used to say, is absurd. But it helps, I think, to know that the trouble does not all come from the erring and invariant human nature. It comes mostly from culture patterns built into the plastic human nervous system. Culture patterns do change, and can be changed.[1]

Democratic attitudes and understandings are products of our culture. Our society is constantly "teaching" democracy to our people. This is what the social psychologist calls "acceptance of ready-made attitudes."

In the past, schools have accepted the attitudes which children have brought to school. They have allowed the culture concept to be the predominant factor in the teaching of democracy. This is really a negative way of looking at the school program. It implies that the school can do nothing for the ideas and ideals of children. It denies the possibility of the effectiveness of any form of education for democracy in the schools.

The present threats to democracy require that schools no longer allow attitudes to be formed solely by the culture. Teachers must accelerate the process by striving to teach democracy more effectively.

On the other hand, they should never minimize the powerful influence of the culture. The effects of the culture may be one of the reasons why successive graduating classes, from the participating schools, scored almost the same each year on the democratic attitude test. Table 6 shows scores on an attitude test for successive June graduates from one Study high school. Each graduating class contained more than two hundred students.

The attitudes toward democracy of the graduates of the other participating schools, as measured by the attitude test, were also fairly constant during the four years of the Study. Undoubtedly many of the graduates were not influenced by the newer practices

[1] Stuart Chase, *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 68. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

TABLE 6

SCORES ON TEST OF DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES
TAKEN BY
SUCCESSIVE JUNE GRADUATING CLASSES FROM
ONE DETROIT HIGH SCHOOL

	Boys	Girls	Total
1946	167.36	167.61	167.56
1947	168.52	169.64	169.22
1948	167.00	168.30	167.70
1949	166.61	169.25	168.39

developed in these schools; some students most directly affected by the Study had not graduated by the time the Study ended. It is also important to recognize that the school was in competition with the culture and was not able to get rapid change.

Schools will need to exert their best efforts if students are to understand and cherish our way of life more than has been true of the present generation of adults.

THE EMOTIONAL-APPEALS HYPOTHESIS

Patriotic organizations have long insisted that schools give great attention to the patriotic symbols of our nation. The Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, the recitation of the Gettysburg Address, the singing of the national anthem, the stirring movies based on historical episodes, the assembly programs on Constitution Day, Armistice Day, Memorial Day, and other holidays are familiar to all students and teachers.

In the participating schools, from the first grade through the twelfth grade, it was apparent that very effective emotional appeals for teaching loyalty and patriotism were employed. Armistice Day programs, for example, were conducted with reverence and dignity. Preliminary to the visit of the Freedom Train to Detroit, a teacher with a graduating class planned a Freedom Train Commencement in which graduates spoke on the importance of different historic documents. Art, music, and dramatics teachers joined forces to put on special American-way-of-life programs for

parents and students. One high school planned and constructed a war memorial plaque for former students of the school. The day on which the plaque was dedicated will probably be remembered long after most of the students forget their other high school experiences. The nature of these activities was so varied and the productions were done so effectively, with such beauty and spirituality, that it would be difficult if not impossible to improve these programs. It seemed clear that emotional appeals were being used continuously and splendidly on a school-wide basis.

How effective are these devices which appeal primarily to the emotions? We do not know; testing procedures for measuring a quality "emotional loyalty" do not exist. As practised, these approaches tend to relate chiefly to nationalism and not to the democratic ideal in a world sense. Recognizing, however, the sincerity of a segment of the public which wants schools to do more with the emotional appeals, some experiments were designed to test this hypothesis.

The first experiment was with eleventh-grade American history classes. Because emotional appeals apparently are so effective on a school-wide basis, an attempt was made to measure the effectiveness of similar emotional procedures on a classroom basis. One teacher agreed to use fifteen sound films and one recording—about one a week—with one American history class and not to employ them with another comparable class. These audio-visual aids had good dramatic appeal, the students liked them, and the teacher thought they were desirable; yet no discernible differences in understanding or attitudes resulted between the two classes as measured by a standardized American history test, the Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes, and the writing of paragraphs on the meaning of democracy.

In a somewhat different experiment on the junior high school level, eight sound movies, selected to appeal to "loyalty" emotions, were shown in an auditorium situation to two different groups of pupils (81 in one group, 91 in another group). There was no discussion following these movies. On a specially designed attitude

scale there were negligible differences between a pre-test and a final test.[1]

The conclusion from these two explorations was that showing movies with high emotional content seemed to produce no change in democratic attitudes or understandings.

Another experiment was designed for twelfth-grade civics classes. Teachers from one participating high school and from two other Detroit high schools were invited to share in this experiment. The teachers attended three all-day work-group sessions at intervals during one semester and tried out exploratory techniques with their students. Following this preliminary period of study and exploration, the actual experiment with collection of data was undertaken the next semester.

For this experiment, three teachers were designated as teachers of democracy by emotional-appeals processes and three as teachers by intellectual-thought processes. A third three agreed to teach by a combination of intellectual-thought processes and emotional-appeals; and three other teachers agreed to serve as "control" teachers. These control teachers received no special training and had no knowledge about the purposes or procedures of the experiment.

Following the work-group sessions the three teachers selected to teach democracy by means of emotional appeals agreed,

> to teach a love of democracy through the employment of emotional appeals. . . . The method aims at appreciation rather than criticism of our form of government. . . .Here for once, pupils will be 'sold' the strengths of our way of life. It is fundamental (1) that the methods employed give pupils a feeling that democracy is the best way of life yet devised by men, and (2) that devices be employed that actually cause emotion to arise within these students.[2]

[1] The junior high school experiment is reported more fully in Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary, and Alice M. Davis, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII. The eleventh grade experiment is reported in a mimeographed publication of Southwestern High School, *At the End of the Second Year,* June, 1947.

[2] The secretary's minutes of the work-group sessions.

These teachers were asked to devote as a minimum approximately one day a week to a special activity or assignment that deliberately stressed the idea of emotional appeal. Some of the suggested activities were:

1. Hold a class discussion on the subject, "Why our democratic system of government is the best yet developed."

2. Invite a teacher who had had active military service, or a member of the American Legion, to come before the class and speak with the group on the importance and value of patriotism.

3. Have a series of oral reports on the great democratic shrines in America and why citizens visit these places. (Examples: Lincoln Memorial, Jefferson Memorial, Washington Monument, Statue of Liberty.) Try to get the reporters to catch the spirit of *why* these memorials were established.

4. Have the class assume responsibility for the school observance of some special patriotic day. (Example: Constitution Day.)

5. Have students make scrapbooks based on patriotic songs or poems.

6. Try the use of posters for display and/or discussion purposes. (Example: Rockwell's "The Four Freedoms.")

7. Use rituals on special occasions. (Examples: 1. Have students from the class who help with the annual school election take the equivalent of the Athenian oath. 2. Use one day for a careful presentation of the Pledge to the Flag and patriotic songs with students participating reverently in these activities. Have students describe and analyze the Pledge and the songs. 3. Present a Freedom Train Day with students describing the importance of the major documents.)

8. Read and discuss with the class various materials on the American way of life. (Examples: Kiwanis Club leaflet series on American way of life, American Legion pamphlets, patriotic advertisements.)

9. Construct an American Hall of Fame based on the lives of citizens who have made a unique contribution to American democracy.

The teachers employing exclusively the intellectual-processes approach were instructed,

> to teach an understanding of democracy . . . through the intellectual processes that have at various times been called critical thinking, reflective thinking, or problem solving . . . . It is essential that the methods employed (1) provide pupils with a basic conceptual background on the nature of democracy, and (2) that *whatever* is studied during the semester be critically examined in the light of these democratic criteria or concepts.[1]

The minimum requirements included:

1. Early in the semester:
   a. Hold a class discussion on what democracy means.
   b. Hold a class discussion on the contrast between democratic and totalitarian forms of government.
   c. Help the class, through study and discussion, to agree on the criteria which they consider essential to democracy.
2. Spend time before the end of six weeks on the arguments used by candidates in the 1948 Presidential election, stressing what is evidence, the sources of evidence, and drawing conclusions from evidence.
3. Spend threeé to five weeks during the semester in an attempt to solve some governmental problem in accordance with the democratic criteria previously agreed upon.
4. In class discussions and activities during the semester, refer to the democratic criteria developed during the first two weeks. If possible, have them posted on a wall border or made on a roller curtain so that they can be used promptly with such questions as: Did we conduct ourselves in keeping with the democratic criteria? Does our solution to a problem violate any of our democratic criteria? Does a specific governmental activity (lobbying, filibuster, long ballot, term of office, etc.) violate any of the democratic criteria?

[1] *Ibid.*

The teachers attempting a combination of intellectual and emotional appeals were instructed,

> to teach democracy through some use of emotional appeals, but with the conscious employment of critical intellectual processes. Emotional devices will be employed, but they will be subject to analysis. Defects of democracy will be examined. Critical thinking will be used. For the purposes of this experiment the teacher must strive (1) to emphasize the values of democracy, (2) to apply the rigors of clear thinking to these values, and (3) to be sure that young people cherish these values because they do withstand critical analysis.[1]

As *minimum* requirements these teachers were asked:

1. To repeat the discussions required for the intellectual-process teacher and get class agreement on the democratic criteria.
2. To spend three to five weeks during the semester in an attempt to solve some governmental problem in accordance with the democratic criteria previously agreed upon.
3. To try one of the activities suggested for the emotional-appeals teacher four or five times during the semester and to follow each activity with class discussion.

The directions for the class activities to be used for each teaching approach of the experiment were developed with the teachers in work-groups and were put in written form; each teacher agreed to do his best to employ the type of procedures described.

Eighteen classes, including nearly three hundred pupils, and twelve teachers participated in this experiment. Four testing instruments were employed in an initial test during the first ten days of the semester and in a final test during the eighteenth week of the semester. The tests were:

1. *A Patriotic Symbols Test,*[2]
2. *The Cooperative American Government Test,*[3]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Stanley E. Dimond and Elmer F. Pflieger, *A Patriotic Symbols Test* (Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, 1948).

[3] John Haefner and others, *The Cooperative American Government Test* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1947).

3. The Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes.[1]
4. The writing of paragraphs on "The Meaning of Democracy."

A fifth test, *Test 2.51 Interpretation of Data,* was given to all classes as part of the end of the semester testing.[2] The results are shown in Table 7.

Some general results from the data are:

1. Eleven classes (all except Class B3) improved in their knowledge of American government during the semester. Some classes learned more than others, but improved learning did not seem to be a product of a particular method.
2. Nine classes (all except Classes B4, C3, and D4) improved on the *Patriotic Symbols Test,* with the intellectual-process classes showing the largest gains.
3. Nine classes (all except Classes D3, D4, and D5) improved in their democratic attitudes as measured by the Collyer test.
4. There was great variation among the classes in the ability to interpret data. (This test was given only in the final testing.)
5. With the exceptions of Classes A1 and D1 there were no significant changes in the number of rights or obligations mentioned in the writing of paragraphs on the meaning of democracy. The pupils of Classes A1 and D1 did mention a greater number of obligations in their final testing.

What does this experiment show about the effectiveness of emotional appeals for classroom purposes? Very little. The emotional-appeals approach did not produce marked changes in democratic attitudes or understanding.

Other types of evidence should be considered, however. The attitude of teachers toward the emotional-appeals approach was important. Planning with these teachers, observing their reactions, and reading the logs which class secretaries kept led the Staff to believe that the emotional-appeals teacher had a very difficult time with this method of teaching. This was true of teachers em-

[1] G. A. Collyer, *op. cit.*

[2] Progressive Education Association, Evaluation in the Eight Year Study, *Test 2.51 Interpretation of Data* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1939).

ploying the intellectual-process approach, too, but to a lesser degree. The emotional-appeals method was foreign to the teachers; they resisted the idea; they did not like this way of teaching; they felt uncomfortable. Thus, the emotional appeals, while used effectively by schools in large-group situations, were not liked by the teachers for classroom use. They probably did not teach significantly different from the other teachers, with the result that a true variable may not have been established.

Another type of evidence that is pertinent to the emotional-appeals hypothesis is represented by the results from the *Patriotic Symbols Test*. The test consisted of six parts:

> (1) Historical Landmarks, (2) the Star-Spangled Banner, (3) the Pledge To the Flag, (4) the American Flag, (5) Patriotic Passages, (6) National Songs.

Each part consisted of objective-test items similar in structure to those with which all secondary school students and teachers are well acquainted. The Staff members reasoned: If emotional appeals are used as frequently as we believe, then a test, comparable to other objective tests, should reveal the extent to which the patriotic symbols are a part of the learning of pupils.

The test results show that on certain items recognition was nearly perfect—a rare achievement on any test given to pupils. Thus pictures of the Statue of Liberty, the Liberty Bell, Independence Hall, and the Minuteman were very well known. All the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner" were well known except the word *fight* in the line "Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight." On this multiple choice item *fight* was selected by 53 per cent of the students. The incorrect items were selected by the following percentages: *night,* 32.2; *flight,* 12.6; *battle,* 2.8. The Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, also, was known thoroughly except for the one word *indivisible* in the phrase "one nation indivisible" with approximately 10 per cent showing confusion over this word.

That each star in the American Flag represents a state was

TABLE 7

MEDIAN SCORES ON INITIAL AND FINAL TESTS—DEMOCRARY EXPERIMENT
(THREE DETROIT HIGH SCHOOLS, FIRST SEMESTER, 1948–49)

Class According to	American Symbolism			Cooperative American Government			Collyer			Test 2.51	Democracy Paragraphs						
											Rights			Obligations			
Teacher Type	I*	F	D	I	F	D	I	F	D	Final	I	F	D	I	F	D	
A—Control																	A
1	41.2	43.6	2.4	42.5	57.0	14.5	172.4	173.7	1.3	45.5	4.3	4.8	.5	.4	4.3	3.9	1
2	40.0	42.8	2.8	42.7	44.9	2.2	168.0	173.3	5.3	32.5	4.0	4.8	.8	.2	.3	.1	2
3	43.2	45.7	2.5	46.0	60.3	14.3	176.1	178.8	2.7	50.7	5.8	5.3	—.5	.4	.9	.5	3
B—Intellect																	B
1	37.4	41.0	3.6	40.0	43.2	3.2	155.2	170.2	15.0	38.8	4.0	4.0	0.0	.8	1.5	.7	1
2	38.0	41.0	3.0	41.5	44.5	3.0	156.6	174.5	14.9	45.0	4.8	4.8	0.0	.4	.1	—.3	2
3	41.8	44.9	3.1	43.2	42.5	—.7	167.2	169.5	2.3	33.0	5.1	3.8	—1.3	.8	.1	—.7	3
4	43.0	42.5	—.5	46.3	58.3	12.0	175.0	182.6	7.6	56.6	2.5	4.0	1.5	.5	1.1	.6	4
5	42.5	44.2	1.7	45.6	56.0	10.4	174.0	176.0	2.0	60.5	4.0	4.5	.5	.1	.3	.2	5
C—Emotional																	C
1	43.0	41.8	—1.2	42.0	48.2	6.2	165.6	168.7	3.7	38.7	4.3	4.7	.4	.2	.2	0.0	1
2	41.6	42.6	1.0	40.0	41.0	1.0	169.5	170.4	.9	32.5	4.5	5.0	—.5	.1	.3	.2	2
3	40.3	39.5	—.8	39.0	39.7	.7	167.3	170.2	2.9	34.5	5.0	6.0	1.0	.0	.1	.1	3
4	44.8	45.8	1.0	48.0	65.7	17.7	170.7	176.1	5.4	63.6	4.3	4.8	.5	.4	.2	—.2	4
5	41.2	42.3	1.1	46.2	53.8	7.6	171.8	177.8	6.0	48.2	4.8	4.7	—.1	.9	.6	—.3	5
D—Intellect & Emotional																	D
1	42.6	44.0	1.4	47.0	49.0	2.0	174.5	182.0	8.5	48.6	2.3	3.8	1.5	.1	3.3	—3.1	1
2	42.0	44.2	2.2	39.0	44.9	5.9	162.3	167.5	5.2	38.2	4.8	6.5	1.7	.2	0.0	—.2	2
3	38.8	38.8	0.0	38.8	42.0	3.2	164.0	160.7	—3.3	28.6	5.0	4.5	—.5	.0	.1	.1	3
4	43.0	46.8	3.8	43.1	56.1	13.0	172.8	172.2	—.6	72.0	3.5	4.5	1.0	.0	.8	.8	4
5	42.1	44.9	2.8	50.6	66.5	15.9	180.0	178.9	—1.1	68.5	4.5	5.8	1.3	.2	1.8	1.6	5
All	41.6	43.3	1.7	44.0	52.6	8.6	170.1	174.7	4.6		4.3	4.8	.5	.5	1.2	.7	

* I—Initial Test. F—Final Test. D—Difference.

known almost perfectly, and 94 per cent of these students knew what the stripes in the Flag symbolize.

Phrases from national songs were not so well known. The test items dealing with these songs proved quite difficult for the pupils apparently because they were accustomed only to singing the words, not thinking about them. Some pupils were heard to hum the words softly as they tried to answer these items. Only 75 per cent recognized the source of "My country 'tis of thee"; and only 50 per cent, the source of "Crown thy good with brotherhood."

The lack of familiarity with great passages from historic documents was the chief deficiency uncovered by this test. Pupils were not as familiar with these passages as they were with the other patriotic symbols. Here is an area that the teachers of English and social studies should examine for possible neglect. Of course, the evidence from three hundred cases can only indicate possible spots for examination by other schools; it does not indicate that this same situation does exist in other schools.

In summary, the emotional-appeals approach seemed to be very effectively used by the schools in auditorium, assembly, and other types of mass programs. Teachers were not successful in adapting this approach to classroom use. Pupil knowledge of some patriotic symbols seemed to be nearly perfect, but improvements could be made particularly with passages from great patriotic documents and with the words of some of our national songs.

THE INTELLECTUAL-UNDERSTANDING HYPOTHESIS

The intellectual-understanding hypothesis is one that seems to be quite generally upheld by classroom teachers. Teachers talk and act as though they believe that democracy is a learned product — a result of reading, studying, thinking, discussing, and generalizing. To what extent is this true?

In 1942, Aiken, reporting on the Eight Year Study of Secondary Schools, stated,

> The study of the history of the United States usually left students without understanding of the way of life for which we

> have been striving throughout our history; it seldom aroused enthusiasm and devotion.[1]

Others have indicated, also, that studying history, government, or economics in and of itself does not necessarily lead to developing democratic attitudes or understandings. Yet, these are the courses which are designed primarily to give an appreciation and understanding of our way of life.

The high school democracy experiment described above does show that all the classes using the intellectual approach gained in democratic attitudes as measured by the Collyer test, and that two of these classes (B1 and B2) gained more than did any of the remaining sixteen classes. Two of the classes using this approach (A1 and D1) were the only classes of the eighteen to improve in the number of obligations mentioned in their definitions of democracy. A study of the class secretaries' reports plus interviews with all the teachers showed that the teachers of the classes which gained most stressed understanding and intellectual approaches and spent several weeks in analysis of what democracy means. In other words, these teachers were probably effective users of the intellectual approaches. The intellectual approach seemed to have merit in changing attitudes and getting better understanding.

Another democracy experiment, as previously mentioned, was developed by a work-group of elementary and junior-high-school teachers for the seventh, eighth and ninth grades.[2] During the early months of the Study one of these teachers had developed a comprehensive outline of units on democracy and its meaning in the home, in the school, in the community, and in the nation as part of an American history course. Other teachers had developed units on the American heritage and on community living for liter-

[1] Wilford M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight Year Study* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. Now published by McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.), p. 4. By permission of McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

[2] The detailed description of this democracy work-group will be found in Arnold Meier, "A Study of a Work-Group-Conference Method for Producing Curriculum Change" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne University, 1950), pp. 84–139 and in Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary and Alice M. Davis, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII.

ature classes. As these teachers worked together, they agreed to submit their methods to an experimental investigation. Two teachers participating in this work-group agreed to use the democracy units in their classes. An auditorium teacher decided to try showing films on democracy. During two years these teachers tried out their materials. The Staff members worked with them and developed an attitude test to measure the results of the experiment. This test was titled "Do You Agree or Disagree?" and was made in several forms.

Table 8 shows the result of the test made with one form of this attitude scale. With the other forms, as well as with other evaluation devices, Group B was always superior. The Staff members responsible for this experiment concluded:

> Teaching that increases students' understanding of democracy requires a rather high level of teaching professionalization. . Conventional teaching of social studies material from a fact-giving and reciting viewpoint is not so likely to result in an increased understanding of democracy as teaching that stresses a broad experience-giving approach. The logical presentation of facts and ideas about democracy is important, but of greater importance are the examination of the relationships between ideas about democracy and actual experiences, the opportunity for discussion and clarification of ideas and interpretations, and the interest of the learner.[1]

One other experiment related to teaching democracy made use of a basically intellectual approach with economics classes. In this experiment four teachers of economics in four different high schools (the two participating high schools were part of this experiment) agreed to use the book, *Economic Roads for American Democracy,* by William Van Til,[2] with one economics class (in each high school.) The average time spent on the book was four weeks. With a control class the teachers agreed to teach as they

[1] Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary, and Alice M. Davis, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

[2] William Van Til, *Economic Roads for American Democracy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1947). This book is one of the reports of the Consumer Education Study financed by the Better Business Bureau.

TABLE 8

MEDIAN PRE- AND END-TEST SCORES OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL GROUPS FROM THREE SCHOOLS ON FORM G "DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE?" FEBRUARY–MAY, 1948[1]

Group	Activity	Number of Pupils	School	Pre-Test Median Score	End-Test Median Score	End-Score minus Pre-Score
A	Eight Films One Showing No Discussion	91	X	77.59	77.36	—.23
B	Democracy Units 2 Hrs. per Day for 70 days	31	X	77.05	90.25	13.20
C	Democracy Units 1 Hr. per Day for 20 Days	106	Y	73.79	73.44	—.35
D	Democracy Units 20 Hours during One Semester	33	Z	79.00	81.00	2.00
E	American Heritage Literature	39	Y	76.75	75.00	—1.75
F	Community Living Units Coordinated with Literature	76	Y	74.70	74.96	.26

"usually taught." The *Cooperative Economics Test,* Form P,[2] and a test instrument "Survey of Economic Attitudes" (prepared by a Staff member) were administered at the beginning of the semester and at the end of the semester.

The "Survey of Economic Attitudes" instrument consisted of two parts. Part I contained five paragraphs describing the five

[1] Reproduced from Arnold Meier, *op. cit.,* p. 117.

[2] Howard R. Anderson and others, *Cooperative Economics Test* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1939).

points of view toward the relationship of government and business which are discussed in *Economic Roads for American Democracy*. Students were asked to choose the point of view which they preferred. The five points of view follow:

1. A Two-Front Economy.

   Government and private industry should work together on economic problems. Private industry should employ all the people it can, but there should be some governmental controls over hours, wages, and profits. In times when people can't work for private industry, they should be given jobs on government projects, such as river valley development, soil conservation, public housing, highway building, health service, and other worth-while projects which will rebuild the country in areas where profit isn't the main idea.

2. A Governmentally Planned Economy.

   Control by a government which we the people run is democratic — more democratic than indirect control by powerful business interests who don't have to answer to us. There should be a growth in government ownership and operation of certain key enterprises until finally the present owners and managers will be well-paid technicians employed by the government. Production and consumption will balance each other in an economy that is planned by government bureaus.

3. The Traditional Business System.

   Government should not interfere with business and should stay out of economic matters. It should protect property and keep the peace. Taxes on business should be very low because businessmen need capital to invest if they are going to give people jobs. Government should be friendly to business, not constantly hampering it with new government agencies or rulings.

4. A System with Restoration of Competition.

   The best system is free enterprise, with very little governmental control or participation. Today, big business is squeezing out the little fellow. The key to a healthy free-enterprise system is free and open competition, preferably with many not-too-large and powerful competitors, and unrestricted op-

eration of the law of supply and demand through flexible prices. The government needs to restore full competition and the free working of the natural law of supply and demand.

5. A Business Leadership System.

Businessmen should get together and furnish us with leadership. Industrialists should act like statesmen, discipline themselves, and organize for public service. Both should keep their profits at a reasonable level and the consumer would benefit. They should plan together for the future. Government is needed to keep order and give people a fair chance, but businessmen should be our economic leaders.

Part II contained fifteen statements of economic attitudes selected by special permission from the Progressive Education Association, *Scale of Beliefs, Form 4.21.*[1]

This "Survey of Economic Attitudes" was given to 137 students in the four experimental classes and to 107 pupils in the control classes.

The assumptions in this experiment were: (1) attitudes toward the relationship of business and government are an indication of democratic attitudes, (2) a different type of economics textbook might change these attitudes, (3) employment of a textbook is typical of the intellectual approach employed by most teachers in teaching democratic attitudes.

All the classes, both experimental and control, gained in their knowledge of economics, as shown in Table 9, with the experimental groups gaining slightly more than the control groups. As illustrative of the complex problems of education in a large city, caused chiefly by neighborhood environment, it is worthy of note that the final scores in School IV were below the initial scores in School I.

Initially, 72 per cent of the students in the four schools preferred Plan 1, the Two-Front Economy. At the end of the semester, 82 per cent preferred this plan. Plan 4, Restoration of Competition, was initially preferred by 14 per cent, and by 8 per cent at the end of

[1] Progressive Education Association, Evaluation in the Eight Year Study, *A Scale of Beliefs, Form 4.21* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1939).

TABLE 9

MEAN INITIAL AND FINAL TESTS OF TWELFTH GRADE STUDENTS FROM FOUR HIGH SCHOOLS ON THE COOPERATIVE ECONOMICS TEST

February–May, 1948

	Experimental 137 cases			Control 107 Cases		
	Test			Test		
School	Initial	Final	Gain	Initial	Final	Gain
I	19.49	29.54	+10.05	17.77	23.15	+5.38
II	13.00	18.64	+ 5.64	13.96	23.17	+9.21
III	10.97	18.42	+ 7.45	11.23	15.86	+4.63
IV	9.22	14.86	+ 5.64	8.67	14.78	+6.11
Average	13.17	20.37	+ 7.20	12.91	19.24	+6.33

Average Gain of Experimental over Average Gain of Control +.87 or 14 per cent

the semester. Plan 5, a Business Leadership System, was the students' third choice. Initially, 9 per cent preferred this system; at the end of the semester 4 per cent selected it. The other two plans were chosen by very few students on the pre-test (5 per cent) and on the final test (6 per cent). The economic attitudes of these students were similar in the four schools.

Did the use of the *Economic Roads for American Democracy* cause a shift in attitudes? Eighty-four of the 244 students shifted their choice of economic plan during the semester. Fifty-three of these students were in the experimental classes and 31 in the control classes. Of the 53 students in the experimental classes, 38 had chosen Plans 4 or 5 at the start of the semester; and 34 of these 38 preferred Plan 1, the Two-Front Economy, at the end of the semester. This was the largest shift of attitude recorded in this experiment. Only 3 of the 244 students shifted to Plan 3, the Traditional Business System, and only 8 shifted to the complete Governmentally Planned Economy (Plan 2). Apparently, most of these high-school seniors were groping for a system in which government and

business were closely related and were influenced more by the book, *Economic Roads for American Democracy,* to move in this direction than they had been by the traditional economics course.

The test items employed as Part II of the "Survey of Economic Attitudes," according to the author, attempted to measure liberal-versus-conservative attitudes. Liberal as measured by these items, seems to indicate attitudes favorable to government regulation of business; and conservative attitudes are those opposed to governmental regulation of business. At the end of the experiment, about one-half of the students in both the experimental (48 per cent) and control (51 per cent) groups displayed no difference in their attitudes. In the experimental groups, one-third of the students displayed a marked move (a change of three or more items out of fifteen) toward more governmental influence; while in the control groups, one-fourth of the total students moved in this direction. Thus, the trend toward more governmental influence was somewhat greater in the experimental groups than in the control groups.

From this experiment with the use of the book, *Economic Roads for American Democracy,* it appeared that those students who changed attitudes then preferred an economic system in which government and business worked together.

In summary, the three experiments which emphasized an intellectual approach seem to justify one conclusion: Student attitudes and understandings can be changed by the use of intellectual processes. Not enough is known, as yet, about the nature of these changes or their causative factors, but the use of intellectual approaches seems to be an important way to change the attitudes of some students and to increase their understanding of democracy.

THE DEMOCRATIC-PARTICIPATION HYPOTHESIS

The participation hypothesis is widely upheld by many educators as an approach for teaching democratic attitudes and understandings. Participation in student councils, in extracurricular activities, and in classroom practices involving pupil-teacher planning has long been advocated by these educators as a desirable way

to teach democratic values. They argue that one does not learn democracy by autocratic methods.

In the Study a great deal of work was done with student councils, with clubs, and with other out-of-class activities. Considerable time was spent with teachers in learning how to plan with pupils. Participation was one of the slogans of the Study; it seemed to be one of the most effective ways to teach democracy. Yet, we do not have statistical data to support this conclusion. Participation was never isolated from factors of intelligence, school courses, family background, or native leadership ability; satisfactory experimental conditions were never established to produce data on the specific values of participation.

In developing the suggestions described above for the emotional-appeal or the intellectual approaches, many teachers planned with their pupils for these activities. Some teachers were probably more effective in their planning than others. For example, the teacher of the classes making the largest gains in the seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-grade experiment is considered by Staff members and other teachers to be unusually adept in developing planning among her pupils. Was the improvement noted in her classes caused by the intellectual approaches employed or by the pupil participation?

Meier concluded from working on this project:

> Those teachers who had stressed content began to see the importance of classroom procedures which were consistent with the content, and those who stressed only or principally the living began to see the desirability of relating the living to certain content and principles. In the end, there was general agreement that the concepts and the content as well as the living of democracy are important.[1]

Descriptions of pupil participation in many types of activities are described in the other volumes of this report. Student government, services to the student body, pupil-teacher planning, club activities, and special programs were employed in all the partici-

[1] Arnold Meier, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

pating schools. Surveys showed, however, that less than half the pupils were engaged in these activities. Economic circumstances operated to keep many pupils from getting any experience in the participation activities.

The student council is probably the most effective organization for education for democracy. Accordingly, in the schools that did not have some form of student government at the start of the Study, student councils were eventually established. In all the schools, efforts were made to improve student government through work-group sessions in which teachers and student officers participated. A few conclusions drawn from the rich Study experiences with student councils are given here:

1. Teacher sponsors of student government must learn to guide and to lead. They must not dictate. A mastery of non-directive techniques is highly desirable.

2. Any limits of authority for student-government organizations need to be well-defined before students begin to attack school problems. If restrictions are to be placed on student-government activities, they should be established by a general policy that is thoroughly understood by the faculty and the student body. When specific acts are vetoed without reference to a previously accepted general policy, the student council begins to die from an undemocratic act.

3. The student-government organization should have the opportunity to deal with problems that are of vital importance to students. Nothing is more disastrous to student government than for students to believe that the organization is a "front" for plans that the principal and faculty were going to put into effect anyway.

4. Representation in the council should be open to all citizens of the school. Artificial restrictions, such as high academic standards, perpetuate a caste system; and the real leaders of the student body may be excluded from the formal student organizations.

5. Communication of ideas and activities to all students and *all teachers* is essential. In the schools participating in the Study, resistance to council activities was greatly reduced when all teachers

realized that they were important to the success of the student-government organization.

6. Student councils need to devote some time each semester to an appraisal of their experiences in relationship to democratic criteria. Generalizing from experiences in student government is an important part of teaching democracy. Appraisal sessions are valuable to help young people learn more about what democracy means.[1]

THE MENTAL-HEALTH HYPOTHESIS

The mental-health hypothesis regards democratic attitudes and understanding as a resultant of good emotional adjustment. A citizen growing up in a democratic culture as a well-adjusted person will acquire those characteristics desirable of the democratic citizen. If the person becomes maladjusted, anti-democratic tendencies may arise. A demonstration of the truth of this hypothesis that in a democratic society the good citizen is the well-adjusted person might change the whole character of citizenship education programs. What evidence is there to support this hypothesis?

Although major attention was given in the Study to emotional adjustment, the direct statistical evidence bearing on the relation of mental health to democracy is meager. Emotional patterns are established in early childhood. Observable change in a child's emotional adjustment occurs slowly and over long periods of time. Consequently, a four-year period is not long enough to change ways in which teachers relate themselves to children nor to measure the effects of such changes in the children's adjustment. In spite of these difficulties the evidence obtained in the Study gives some justification for employing the mental-health hypothesis as a way to get better democratic attitudes and understandings.

Some evidence justifying this hypothesis was gained from a study of drop-outs in one high school. Tests were given to approximately six hundred entering tenth-graders in September 1945 to measure their emotional adjustment. (See Table 10.) Only slightly

[1] For further ideas on student government, see Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary and Alice M. Davis, *op. cit.*, Chap. IX.

TABLE 10

RELATION OF MEAN ADJUSTMENT SCORES TO MEAN SCORES OF DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES

SEPTEMBER 1945—10B CLASS

	Graduated June 1948	Left School before Graduation
Total Score *California Test of Personality*	130.85	125.45
Problems Checked Mooney *Problem Checklist*	22.11*	24.06*
Collyer, Test of Democratic Attitudes	160.50	153.30

* On the *California Test* and the Collyer Test high scores are interpreted as being better, while on the Mooney *Problem Checklist* low scores are interpreted as being better.

more than half of these students graduated; the remainder dropped out of school. According to the tests, those who dropped out had more problems; they scored lower in total adjustment. Similarly, those who dropped out of school were lower in scores on the Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes. From these data it appears that those students who left school before graduation had not been as well adjusted when they entered school as those who remained and graduated. It appears that the better adjusted students had better democratic attitudes.

A second attempt to get evidence on this hypothesis was by a study of the scores of the June, 1949, graduates on the *California Test of Personality* and the Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes. Five hundred and thirty-nine seniors from the two participating high schools took these two tests. The correlation between these two tests was —.125. For these graduates there was apparently no relationship between the scores on the personality test and the scores on the democratic attitude test. No evidence to support the hypothesis was obtained.

Sometimes a study of extreme cases is more revealing than a correlation of mass data. Consequently, a comparison was made of the ten highest and the ten lowest scores from the same June, 1949

testing on the Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes with the scores of the same students on the *California Test of Personality*. Of the ten pupils with the best scores on democratic attitudes (Range: 219–207) only four were above the fiftieth percentile on the *California Test*.

Of the ten pupils scoring lowest on the Collyer Test (Ranges: 141–96) all but one was below the fiftieth percentile on the personality test. (This student scored at the ninety-fifth percentile on the personality test.)

The ten graduates with the best democratic attitudes, as a group, seem to be somewhat better adjusted than the ten with the poorest democratic attitudes, but the individual variations are so great that the measurement of these qualities gives little support to the mental-health hypothesis as a way of developing democratic attitudes.

Reversing this procedure, how do the high and low scores on emotional adjustment compare in their democratic attitudes? The ten highest scores on the *California Test of Personality* were all at or above the ninety-fifth percentile, with a range of scores on the democratic attitude test from 217 to 151. The ten lowest scores on the *California Test* were at or below the fifth percentile, with a range of scores on democratic attitudes from 211 to 140. Those with the better adjustment scores, as a group, scored somewhat better on democratic attitudes than those with the poorer adjustment scores, but the individuals varied so much that it cannot be said that they showed democratic attitudes directly correlated with emotional adjustment.

From this evidence, a sane conclusion may be that *some* badly adjusted students are going to develop undemocratic attitudes, that *some* well-adjusted students are also going to develop undemocratic attitudes and that mental health is only one of several factors related to teaching democracy.

Social evidence adds some weight to the mental-health hypothesis. Historically, Hitler was aided in his rise to power by manipulating frustrated youth for his own totalitarian ends. In our own country, participants in riots are identified as maladjusted

teen-agers. The maladjusted seem to have been useful dupes for those concerned with totalitarian ends. It would seem to be good insurance for a democratic nation to reduce maladjustment among youth as far as possible as one way of teaching democratic understandings and attitudes.

In this connection there is some support for the belief that certain individuals become Communists because of personal maladjustments. The frustrations of modern life have caused such persons to rebel against the pattern of our society. The willingness to surrender to the rigid discipline of the Communist organization — to give up freedom of thought and action — may be a symptom of emotional maladjustment. Bruce Bliven, editor of the *New Republic,* in writing about the threat of Communism, says,

> The leading experts in psychology and psychiatry are unanimous in saying that . . . in the overwhelming number of instances, the American who today turns against the cultural pattern in which he has been reared is displaying definite neurotic symptoms, and . . . in practically all cases, if we could apply what is now known about mental illness to the upbringing of children, literally from birth, the great majority of these symptoms could be avoided.[1]

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., too, recognized this relation of mental health to democratic attitudes when he wrote,

> Why do people join the Communist Party in the United States? One can understand Communist strength in countries like China or South Africa, where cruel oppression affords little choice. But America has been through the longest period of liberal government in its history. The labor movement has never been so strong. Why should Americans submit themselves to the intolerable discipline of party membership? Yet even America has its quota of lonely and frustrated people, craving social, intellectual and even sexual fulfillment they cannot obtain in existing society. For these people, party

[1] Bruce Bliven, "Why They Fall For Communism," *Redbook Magazine,* XCIV (1949), 81. Quoted with permission of *Redbook Magazine.*

> discipline is no obstacle; it is an attraction. The great majority of members in America, as in Europe, *want* to be disciplined.[1]

The available evidence from the Study presents conflicting facts concerning the validity of the mental-health hypothesis. The experience of the teachers and Staff is that teaching procedures which emphasize mental health are essential if pupils are to develop good citizenship qualities. Child development in a democracy requires special attention to emotional adjustment. Teachers will need to be especially alert to be sure that maladjusted youth are not developing anti-democratic attitudes. On the other hand, teachers can not take for granted that the well-adjusted will automatically develop democratic attitudes. Good mental health may provide a greater readiness for acceptance of democratic attitudes and for acquisition of the understandings of democracy.

THE NEED FOR BALANCE

Five hypotheses for improving the teaching of democracy have been discussed in this chapter: the cultural, the emotional, the intellectual, the participation, and the mental-health hypotheses. Each of these has been treated separately, but no one hypothesis should be singled out as the basis for the teaching of democracy. Rather, we must consider all five hypotheses and attempt to maintain a balanced relationship among them. Those using the emotional appeals should not neglect the intellectual, the participation, or the mental-health approaches. The same proposition holds for each of the other methods. No one method will do the job alone; all are needed. Some teachers or schools may give more emphasis to one hypothesis than another, but a school that emphasizes one hypothesis to the neglect of others will probably not be doing a fully effective job of teaching democracy.

Additional evidence is needed on each of these hypotheses. With our future as a democratic society at stake, is it too much to expect teachers of democracy to seek further evidence on the particular merits of each of the hypotheses described?

[1] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Vital Center* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949), p. 104. Quoted with permission of the publishers.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Democracy is the word used most frequently to describe the basic philosophy of the American people. There are divergent opinions in our society concerning this basic philosophy—especially in application to specific situations. One role of the school, therefore, should be to help students clarify their ideas about the meaning of democracy.

2. Not enough attention is given to helping pupils clarify their understanding of democracy. More time should be devoted to teaching an intellectual understanding of it. Teachers and pupils together need to develop specific criteria describing democracy and to test contemporary and historical episodes against these criteria. There is a need to re-examine social studies and literature courses to determine places where the meaning of democracy can be emphasized. There is a need to develop new units for teaching its meaning.

3. Most pupils write of democracy in terms of personal rights; few students discuss the duties required of the democratic citizen. A few teachers are successful in teaching the reciprocal relations of freedoms and responsibilities; most teachers are not. The successful teachers seem to spend more time in teaching the meaning of democracy and to be more analytical in their approaches.

4. Democratic attitudes and understandings seem to be developed by multiple processes. Although the influence of the culture is prominent in these processes, four other hypotheses by which schools seem to be influencing these attitudes and understandings were studied:

a. Emotional appeals seemed to be used most consistently and most effectively by the schools in the Study, but these appeals were successful chiefly in large group situations; they were less effective in classroom situations.

b. The intellectual approach to teaching democracy was effective when sufficient time was devoted to discussing and generalizing about democracy in classes.

c. Opportunities for democratic participation seemed inade-

quate. Student government needed special attention. Pupil-teacher planning was not widely used, and some teachers did not use such planning effectively. Opportunity for pupils to participate in out-of-class and community activities was neglected.

d. Good mental health and good democratic attitudes were not proved to be directly related, yet the Staff is convinced that improving mental health is an important approach to good citizenship. More attention needs to be given to this relationship.

e. Individual teachers and schools need to be careful not to overemphasize one way of teaching democracy and to minimize others. A balanced relationship between the approaches is important for best results, since each hypothesis seems to have some merit.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Conflict Area: Human Relationships

> The Study proposes . . . to examine the character of human relationships in the schools and . . . to assist in the development of school practices which will improve democratic relationships.[1]

One quality of the good citizen is that he practices democratic human relationships in the family, in the school, in the community, and in the larger scene. This essential quality was one of the five originally described by the Staff in designing the Study. We stated that the good citizen

> . . . practices the kinds of human relationships that are consistent with a democratic society. He personalizes what happens to others, thereby earning respect and confidence. He develops his own ability to cooperate with others. He sincerely desires to help other persons. Through these practices, he builds good will as a resource for the future.[2]

As we began our work with the participating schools, we soon learned that essentially these were friendly schools. There was a large reservoir of good will. We were treated politely, courteously. Every effort was made by teachers to put their best foot forward. For a long time, the more difficult problems of human relationship were hidden from our direct examination.

Gradually, however, as we became more accepted, as members of the faculties forgot that we were strangers, as mutual confidence was established, we learned that even in these friendly schools

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* p. 7.
[2] *Ibid.*

there were tensions growing out of conflicts. There was, however, always a firm foundation of good human relationships that seemed somehow to override even the most violent conflict situations.

Originally, our intention had been to make a careful analysis of a hard-to-define quality, sometimes called the social atmosphere of the school. We discussed, for example, the possibilities of making sociometric studies of faculties and experimenting with different ways of handling conflict situations, on the assumption that the development of good citizens is influenced by the quality of human relationships. These studies and experiments were never initiated because we discovered, as described in Chapter III, that our central task must be to help teachers understand the children they were teaching. We think we have learned that a basic understanding of children is the first step in a school program designed to improve democratic human relationships.

Our four years of cooperative effort with eight distinct schools, therefore, has given us little "scientific" data on how to establish or improve democratic human relationships in a school. Rather, we have four years of genuine experience with cooperative methods, as well as daily logs filled with examples of good and bad practices in human relationships. These, too, are data. How can these four years of experience be summarized to help others as they strive to improve citizenship programs? This chapter will attempt a summary by giving 1) a brief description of human relationship activities which developed in the schools, 2) an analysis of conflict situations which took place during the Study, and 3) some suggestions on ways conflicts may be resolved.

HUMAN-RELATIONSHIP ACTIVITIES

Democratic human relationships, in one sense, are a part of all that is being described as citizenship education. Sometimes advances in democratic human relations were made in participating schools under the name of citizenship that might not have been possible under such names as intercultural education, intergroup education, or race relations. Our honest effort was to have good human relations permeate all aspects of the Study.

The human-relationship activities of the participating schools, accordingly, were prominent throughout the duration of the Study. In each school when the Study began, there was a special faculty Committee on Democratic Human Relations that was associated with a system-wide attempt to improve the quality of human relations in Detroit schools.[1] These school Human-Relations committees, while continuing their cooperation with the Superintendent's Administrative Committee on Democratic Human Relations, were the natural groups to study ways of improving practices in human relationships. As the months went by, these original committees merged with or cooperated with faculty steering committees or other committees. For the duration of the Study, these committees met together to discuss, study, plan, and appraise means by which to solve human-relationship problems.

From these four years of cooperative work, one conclusion about democratic human relations seems clear: Democratic human relationships represent a worthy goal, but the achievement of the goal requires an understanding of children, a knowledge of the meaning of democracy, and skills in problem solving, as described in other chapters of this book.

After their formal participation in the Citizenship Education Study, some schools published reports of their activities. One of these reports, the Barbour Intermediate School Report, *Living Democracy,* edited by a committee of three teachers, included a list of activities on democratic human relations which illustrates the work good schools can undertake. The report stated that democratic human relations are developed through:

Real experience with life problems,

Participation in the student council as a representative of a homeroom group,

Participation in homeroom activities and discussion,

Student-teacher planned social activities: teas, parties, dances, picnics, programs, assemblies,

[1] These school committees were developed following the race riots in 1943 to coordinate and intensify previous work done in the field of human relations.

Sharing in drives: Red Cross, Red Feather, and the collection of clothing and newspapers, for the general welfare of the community,

Sharing in the use of materials: books, book kits, hall cases, library, etc.,

Shared planning and working together for the common good,

Equality of opportunity for all,

Group approval,

Concern and friendliness for all pupils with adjustment problems,

Making special provisions for both the rapid and the slow learner,

Services of counselors who give special assistance to maladjusted students or pupils with serious problems,

Respect and consideration for the abilities and talents of others and the realization that every person has some contribution to make,

Courses offered in which the main objective is to educate for work,

Concern for the physical welfare of pupils as demonstrated through Public Health Nurses' Service, and health instruction and first aid given by health-education teachers,

Providing free lunches and school materials for needy students,

Concern for the safety of students in school and on the playground,

Interest in the community—keeping school grounds attractive and neat, consideration for private property near the school.

Pride in one's school, cleanliness at drinking fountains, disposal of refuse, cleanliness in halls,

Thoughtful and kindly acts for a classmate who is ill,

Reading for a classmate who has defective vision,

Membership in glee clubs, mixed chorus, band, orchestra, athletic teams, National Junior Honor Society, Projectors Club, Safety Patrol, cafeteria and corridor service groups,

Cooperation of school and recreation centers,

Living joyous productive lives.[1]

Other schools described similar activities. By means of safety patrols, field trips, conference periods when a teacher and pupils could talk out problems, mothers' clubs, school courts, and neighborhood councils of social workers, educators and other community leaders, special opportunities for individuals to meet in new and different settings with different purposes and problems were provided — thus allowing new factors to influence the human associations. The net effect of all these activities was that there was a better chance to work toward improved human relations.

School papers, handbooks to help new pupils and new teachers in school orientation, and faculty bulletins underlined the importance of communication in good human relationships.

Special units on minority groups, on life in large cities, or on the meaning of democracy stressed basic intellectual understanding.

Efforts to solve specific problems in human relationships were made. A geography laboratory was created to give poor readers a chance to work successfully with their hands and with each other on group projects. Representatives participated in the Metropolitan Student Sportsmanship Council, an organization created to counteract fights after athletic contests. Honor study halls were organized in order that students could study together as a self-disciplined group.

[1] Dora E. Bowlby, Bernice M. Schreader, Ifie Wyatt, *Living Democracy at the Barbour Intermediate School* (Detroit: Barbour Intermediate School, 1949), pp. 10–12.

The human-relationship activities adopted by the schools might be classified as follows: (1) those providing opportunities for people to work together, (2) those bringing about mutual understanding, (3) those providing opportunities for people to diagnose, and find solutions for, especially difficult problems, and (4) those making use of the total-school facilities rather than stressing one activity or one department.

The human-relationship activities in the participating schools were similar to those examined and summarized on a national basis by the Democratic Human Relations Yearbook Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies.

> The Committee found [that] growing concern and serious intent is one of the brightest signs on the horizon.
>
> Hopeful, too, is the general acceptance of cooperative arrangements involving the participation of many in thinking through and developing programs. The day is rapidly passing when it is thought that the problems of human relations in the school and in the community can be met by one earnest teacher, working single-handed in a classroom. A steadily increasing number of teachers are working together to develop procedures. In many schools, committees representing the staff are formulating policies and plans. There is evidence that school-wide approaches are beginning to supplement, and in some cases replace, the usual departmental approach. Planning groups which include both administrators and teachers are meeting in an increasing number of schools and systems. Sometimes the active cooperation of community members is enlisted in furtherance of school programs. Less frequently educators and representatives of social agencies meet together for exchange of ideas and for charting community-wide councils. On the whole, the cooperative arrangements which exist and which are coming into existence encourage emphases on intercultural education which are broad and pervasive.[1]

[1] Hilda Taba and William Van Til, *Democratic Human Relations: Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (Washington: the Council, 1945), pp. 340–41. Quoted by permission of the Council.

TYPES OF CONFLICTS

In spite of the best intentions of many sincere people and the fine activities that were developed, conflicts arose in the schools. Some of these were resolved happily; some withered away with time; some deep-seated ones still exist — a constant, haunting reminder that good human relations were too complex on too many occasions. Some of these conflicts, such as social, religious, or labor-management problems, existed in schools because of violent social forces that were present in the community. Other conflicts occurred because the Study was necessarily committed to making changes which were resisted by some persons. Some conflicts were simply a part of the normal ebb and flow of life in any school.

What were these conflicts like? Who were the contending parties? The following analysis of observed human conflict in the participating schools over a four-year period give some answers to these questions.

PUPILS WITH PUPILS

Pupils at all ages had difficulties in getting along with other pupils. Conflict among pupils covered a wide range of episodes — from a simple snowball fight to a serious stabbing; from a broken romance to an intense rivalry for a senior class presidency; from cheating in exams to gang warfare.

Examples of conflict:

1. The president of a student council was beaten by a gang on the way home from school.

2. Attitude tests revealed that 10 per cent of one high school's graduates believed Jews should have separate schools in this country; 32.8 per cent believed it would be better if Negroes were always segregated in separate schools; 28 per cent believed labor organizers should be excluded from a town where there has been no labor trouble.

3. Pseudo-sororities and fraternities in a high school created a class system in the school. (These existed in violation of a state law.)

PUPILS WITH TEACHERS

Most teachers and pupils lived together harmoniously. Each day, however, some teacher and some pupil would get into violent conflict. These conflicts between pupils and teachers occurred in such matters as discipline, length of assignments, marks, and social philosophy.

Examples of conflict:

1. During the first year of the Study, a teacher attempted to speak from the school-auditorium stage during a program and was booed by students until she had to leave the stage.

2. Pupils objected to allocations of playground space — assigned by the principal to age groups for safety reasons — because they considered the system undemocratic.

3. Some pupils, not considered good academic material by teachers, were bewildered by the demands of teachers. The attitude of some teachers toward these pupils was reflected in the following excerpt from one school report:

> There is even a feeling on the part of some teachers that these students don't belong in school at all but would be better off in a factory or some other place "where they would learn something."

4. In one school, the school problem checked most frequently by students on a problem check list was: "Teachers doing too much talking."

TEACHERS WITH TEACHERS

A faculty was not always one big happy family. There were times when differences of opinion got in the way of efforts to improve citizenship programs. These differences occurred over such varied matters as which teacher organization to join, whether the principal was a "good egg," or what percentage of failure provided the greatest stimulus for pupils.

Examples of conflict:

1. A teacher in a building had always been the acknowledged leader. Newer ideas about child growth and development gained

acceptance in the building and a new leadership arose. The earlier teacher-leader became very resistant to new ideas.

2. One teacher gave a student an excellent mark; another teacher in a different subject failed the student. In a teacher's child study-group this student's case history was discussed. Each teacher defended her mark with considerable heat and sarcasm.

3. Teachers trying out a new course were ridiculed by other teachers. The ridicule ranged from mild joking, "You're dumb for doing all that extra work," to unethical sabotage when students in one class were told, "You'll never get into college if you take *that* course from *that* teacher."

TEACHERS WITH PRINCIPALS

The role of the principal was an especially difficult one. By status position, the principal seemed to be expected to resolve all conflicts. Elevation to the title of principal seemed, sometimes, to require a sudden acquisition of knowledge and ability that few human beings have yet achieved. When asked of what value the Study had been, one principal replied, "I've learned and our teachers have learned that the principal no longer is expected to have all the answers."

Examples of conflict:

1. Teacher resentment that the principal closed the door to his office. "Our old principal never closed his door. The new one doesn't get around the building as much as our former principal."

2. A faculty was divided into two cliques — one friendly to the principal, one detesting the principal.

3. A principal reprimanded a teacher before her class.

4. A new method of passing through halls, initiated by the principal, caused disagreements. (The formal military, the free passing, the rotary, and the relay system seemed to be the distinct "schools" of thought with which teachers aligned themselves.)

TEACHERS WITH PARENTS

Insecurity seemed to be the key word to describe conflicts between teachers and parents. Teachers felt insecure because, deep

within themselves, they realized that they frequently did not know enough to help parents with the complex problems of their children. Parents were insecure because of the important educational role of the teacher and sometimes because of their previous unfortunate experiences in schools. The Study learned that the tensions growing out of insecurities were lessened when teachers and parents studied about children *together.*

Examples of conflict:

1. A school counselor thought Mary should take one type of course, but Mary's father insisted on a different course.

2. Parents wanted teachers to spend more time giving demonstrations at parent-teacher meetings, but teachers insisted they were already overworked.

3. Teachers wanted fewer children staying for lunch. As one expressed it, "Their mothers ought to take care of them during lunch time, if we take them off their hands the rest of the day."

STUDY STAFF WITH MANY TYPES OF PERSONS

Staff members of the Study were not immune from conflict. They had conflicts with pupils, teachers, principals, secretaries, administrators, supervisors, and each other. Were these conflicts avoidable? Are they a necessary part of striving to improve citizenship programs?

Examples of conflict:

1. A Staff member, working with a group of elementary teachers, found a great desire on the part of the teachers to abandon the formal report card and to institute individual conferences with parents. The plan was developed by a faculty committee and approved by the principal. The Staff member arranged for a conference with the administrator next higher in the school hierarchy. The plan was vetoed. Reason? Too many parents would come to the school! Result: Teachers adopted a "what's-the-use-of-trying" attitude.

2. Staff members were not in agreement on the procedures by which the Five Qualities of a Good Citizen should be used in developing a school citizenship program.

3. Study Staff members and teachers disagreed on questions of educational philosophy, on the virtues of specific school practices, on appropriate ways to treat children.

The examples of conflict cited here would not seem to be crucial ones in a citizenship education program. They are not the types of conflicts that those concerned philosophically with citizenship programs might even expect: They are not conflicts over the wisdom of indoctrinating for democracy, over the values of attendance at political meetings, or over a question of whether schools get out the vote. Yet, for every minute teachers spent in the consideration of such philosophical "citizenship" conflicts, they spent hours in resolving the ordinary, humdrum conflicts that seemed to be a part of every school.

A school is a social organism, made up of human beings. These human beings get into conflict over the most absurd kinds of things. And these conflicts get in the way of faculties striving to improve their citizenship programs. Many of us came to believe that a chief reason school programs do not improve is that there is an inability to resolve these very ordinary human conflicts.

RESOLVING CONFLICTS

What was learned about resolving these conflicts? Did our experiences lead to any clues that might help others improve their human relationship programs? Were these conflicts adjusted? Eight devices that seemed to be useful were:

Working Together

One clue to resolving conflicts is found in one elementary school report. These teachers said,

> The technique used in solving group tension, simply stated, is: Give opposing groups a common task, build up respect by capitalizing on the abilities of each, show the ways in which the groups are alike, stress the contributions made by different nationalities or races to work together for a common cause.[1]

[1] Douglass Houghton School Faculty, *Their Happiest Hours* (Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, 1949), p. 12.

Thus, working together on a common project seemed to be one way of reducing tension between groups. This system was helpful with pupils, teachers, principals, Staff members, and parents. Sharing a common experience encouraged mutual respect. But even in these common projects conflict did arise between some individuals. In such situations it helped to talk over the conflict.

TALKING THINGS THROUGH

Sitting down and talking things through was a useful method. It was the chief method employed by the Staff in resolving Staff conflicts. Many, many hours were spent in the discussion of a single point. Staff meetings were typically lengthy ones, especially when it seemed desirable to get unanimity on a particular point. The Staff experimented with the use of (1) a rotating chairman, (2) a nonparticipant observer (one who watched the process of discussion, called attention to irrelevant matters or pointed out effects of disagreements, but who did not participate in the content of the discussion), and (3) a non-Staff member participating in the discussions and making suggestions on ways to improve the process by which the Staff reduced conflict and arrived at decisions.

These lengthy meetings had many values. Most conflicts were resolved by these talking-through sessions. All of us learned more about discussion leadership, about restating exactly what a person has said, about seeing the other person's point of view. The most deep-seated conflicts, however, were not always resolved by talking things through. There came a period when status got in the way, where discussion seemed to some to be based on rationalization of pre-conceived positions, where others felt that too much time was being spent in talking. These "tough" conflicts were never resolved; they still exist. But the fact that we were able to talk about conflicts in the open did enable a continuous working relationship to be maintained.

Among the faculties, there was less opportunity to talk things through. However, as more time in the schools was devoted to teacher-groups working together, as faculty meetings grew more frequent and longer, and as more teachers participated in the dis-

cussions, there was some decrease in conflicts; but there were those who said that the procedures were taking too much time.

Talking things through does require much time. The Study learned little about the minimum amount of time needed for effective action. The typical work-week for the teacher did not seem to us to provide sufficient time for good cooperative effort. Two alternatives seem possible: to find more time or to find cooperative methods requiring less time of teachers.

With some pupils teachers had many opportunities to spend time listening and conversing. With other pupils—those who worked, who came to school by bus, who needed to cross dangerous highways before safety patrol boys left—time was not available. With parents, time was at a premium, but as the amount of time was increased in which parents and teachers worked together, the values to children were multiplied and the parent-teacher conflicts were reduced. When time was available, talking together was helpful.

IMPROVING COMMUNICATION

Some of the conflicts observed in the Study arose out of a lack of understanding. Ignorance of essential information was a frequent cause. During the Study, we came to realize that keeping others informed was an essential part of getting acceptance for new ideas. Opposition to a project seemed to arise as often from the insecurity of not knowing what was to happen as from real disagreement with the basic ideas. This was the experience of faculties and student councils, especially.

By the last year of the Study, groups were paying great attention to carefully worded, brightly written, attractive bulletins to interested persons. More efforts were being made, too, to find time to inform the total faculty, the total student body, or all the parents about the activities of a particular group within the school. Among the crucial questions that participants now use to evaluate the effectiveness of a proposal are: How much time have you been able to use to describe this activity to your faculty? to students? to parents? to administrators?

GETTING ADEQUATE INFORMATION

Sometimes conflicts were resolved by getting new or additional information. Then conflict was not due to poor communication; rather, the available information was not adequate. If a school was concerned about juvenile delinquency, city-wide statistics were not as valuable as the facts about the immediate neighborhood. Get-out-the-vote campaigns were more successful if voting facts about the school neighborhood as well as the records of the city voting were available.

For this reason community surveys proved especially useful, particularly to teachers. In one high school a faculty committee spent a year preparing, conducting, and analyzing a community survey. In this school some prejudice toward Negroes was lessened when the survey showed that the Negro parents, as a group, were better educated, that more of them owned their own homes, and that they had more stable economic conditions than was true of white parents from one part of the school neighborhood.

In one elementary-school neighborhood, students from the Sociology Department at Wayne University cooperated in a community survey which was used by recreation, housing, and school authorities to aid in broader social planning through a community council.

Facts seemed to dispel the rumor and gossip which caused conflicts.

LISTENING

Some conflicts were resolved by letting the other person talk.[1] During the first year of the Study, Staff members were frequently disturbed by the steady flow of gripes from teachers about principals, other teachers, students, parents and school situations. Only gradually did we come to realize that one of our roles in schools was that of being patient, confidential listeners to other's troubles and that listening itself provided a kind of therapy for the one

[1] For a description of non-directive techniques which seem to have value for easing the tensions of some persons, see Carl R. Rogers, *Dealing with Social Tensions* (New York: Hinds, Hayden, and Eldridge, 1948).

who needed to talk out his problems. During the fourth year of the Study, in three of the eight schools—because of a death, a resignation, and lack of funds — there was no regular Staff coordinator. Many teachers have reported that one of the chief losses in these schools was the chance to talk things through with a coordinator. Tension is reduced, apparently, if someone in a school is able to listen and allow the other person to talk.

One further insight into griping is worthy of note. An early surmise was that the chronic complainer was not interested, not loyal — really wanted to be in some other school situation. This impression was not always true; the one who complains sometimes does so out of an intense loyalty. The sincere desire to have a better school, for example, may lead to a kind of carping criticism that will be handled better if recognized as a symptom of a real desire for improvement rather than dismissed as the criticism of a person who always is looking for something wrong.

PARTICIPATING WITH DIFFERENT LEVELS

Consider the school as consisting of five levels: pupils, teachers, administrators, parents, and community leaders. Persons on these different levels are likely to be in conflict. Changing a citizenship program may be initiated with any one of these levels — although most new activities in the Study originated with teachers in some type of group situation. During the first year, in some schools, there was great reluctance to admit the administrative level into the work-groups. Gradually, as their sureness of the value of a particular project developed, the teachers wanted the approval of the principal. Finally, as the competence of the principal was recognized, the teachers welcomed the principal as a working member of the group. This working together of the principal and teachers, when finally attained, was highly effective.

In the Study, the working together of persons of different status levels reduced conflict and speeded up action programs. During the later years of the Study, the planned use of this practice increased. The meeting of teachers and principal with the student council is a good example.

HAVING AN EXPLOSION

Occasionally, conflicts were not resolved until a violent episode occurred. Tempers were lost, harsh words were said, and the persons involved "walked out" on a meeting. Complete disintegration took place. These explosions were rare, but they happened a few times. How should they be appraised? Is explosion a way of resolving conflicts?

For the most part the people participating in the explosions felt guilty for a period after the incident. They were chagrined about their conduct. Their previous social conditioning caused them to feel that they had done something wrong. Sometimes, during the period after the stormy session, a new attempt at resolving a conflict resulted in quick agreement, followed by very great progress. This ready adjustment of conflict following an explosion gives some justification to the hypothesis that permitting a conflict to take on violent characteristics may be one way of resolving conflicts; it may even be an essential step in reaching a solution of some very difficult conflicts.

The shock method, however, certainly was not always successful. In some instances the explosion seemed only to intensify the conflict, with the result that some conflicts never were resolved. More evidence is needed concerning the effect of explosions on conflict situations, but leaders should not accept the explosion as "the end." A day or two later, participants may reach agreements quicker and make better progress than previously had seemed possible.

REMOVING A PERSON

Another shock method is to remove one or more persons around whom the conflict centers. Under the provisions of the Study, "special administrative privileges concerning transfer of teachers" were to be granted. This clause was originally written to provide a means by which any teacher, blocking the progress of the Study, could be removed. The Staff, on a few occasions, discussed the advisability of removing a certain teacher from a school. The conclusion always reached was that it was our job to learn to work

with this person and that we would be destroying our laboratory conditions if we had the teacher transferred.

At the time such decisions seemed wise. In retrospect, we have conjectured on what advances in citizenship education might have been made if we had not had to spend so much time resolving conflicts. If a more like-minded faculty were assembled, would progress come faster? In the course of four years, although the Study never exerted its right to ask for the transfer of teachers, retirement and reductions in size of faculties did bring changes. In a few cases, these normal changes resulted in the removal of particularly resistant teachers.

The improvement in group productivity which resulted from the disappearance of the obstructive person may justify the deliberate removal of a person from group membership if the group process is disintegrating. Teachers have used this device in pupil situations over a long period of time. The use of this procedure with adults seems warranted in extreme cases, if the conflicts cannot be resolved by any of the other devices.

A SCIENCE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

The experiences of the Study are a type of pragmatic testimony supporting the generalization that developing better citizenship programs depends to a great extent upon reducing conflict between individuals and groups. Many of the experiences have been with conflicts that seem, in one sense, far removed from the serious conflicts of race, religion, politics, economics, or international affairs which exist in our world today. Aspects of these more serious social conflicts did exist in the participating schools, but their resolution seemed to depend upon resolving the more commonplace school conflicts.

The Study did not attempt to gather, nor did it contribute, new data to a science of human relations. We were essentially practitioners trying to get into school practice the findings of others. We did find many theories helpful.

The needs-hypothesis and the social-class theory described in Chapter III are an essential part of any science of human relations.

Some conflict and some bad citizenship were the result of a lack of affection, an unfulfilled need for belonging, an inability to perform required tasks successfully. Much conflict arose between teachers with middle-class codes of behavior and children with lower-class codes.

The brief personal contacts Staff members had with the late Kurt Lewin, together with the writings emanating from the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan, have helped to establish hypotheses and give clues that may eventually aid other curriculum workers to function more effectively in school situations than we were able to do. The differences between autocratic, laissez faire, and democratic atmospheres, as one illustration, are of utmost importance for all educators concerned with improving citizenship.[1]

The recent writings of curriculum workers, too, are providing a more experiential basis for a better knowledge of human relations. Many newer democratic-curriculum concepts place a high premium on good human relations. Among such concepts are these: changing the curriculum means changing people; curriculum making is essentially a group process; democracy requires that those who are affected by a decision should share in making the decision.

The practice of these democratic-curriculum concepts requires educational leaders to recognize that good human relationships are closely related to goal-setting, democratic atmospheres, we-feeling, security, the relationship of ideas to action, fact-finding, decision-making, communication, and speed of change. There is in this area a great need to unify theory and practice.

Stuart Chase has summarized the present state of affairs well in *The Proper Study of Mankind,* where he writes:

> . . . there is far more knowledge already available than has been put to use. But really to solve the big problems of human relations with some confidence that they will stay solved requires at least three things:

[1] Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948).

1. A great increase in the scientific study of human groups and societies.
2. A far wider popular understanding of what constitutes the scientific method, and a willingness to back it.
3. A political structure in which scientific knowledge about man in society is applied for the benefit of the people.[1]

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Improvement of democratic human relationships in schools depends basically upon a better understanding of children, a better understanding of democracy, the development of improved skills in problem solving and more knowledge of the behavior of groups.

2. Efforts to improve citizenship education programs are dependent to a degree upon the ability to resolve conflicts between human beings.

3. Although the schools are essentially friendly places, conflicts in human relationships exist. The chief conflicts arising in the Study were relatively simple matters which seemed to have little direct relationship to deep-seated citizenship ideas. These ordinary conflicts got in the way of the activities for the improvement of citizenship education.

4. The more serious school conflicts observed concerned racial antagonism, gang warfare, relationships of administrators and teachers, methods of discipline, and the differences between middle-class values of teachers with lower-class behavior of pupils.

5. Some conflicts were resolved by working together, talking things through, improving communication, getting adequate information, listening, getting persons of different status levels to participate together, allowing disagreements to explode, or removing difficult persons.

6. A science of human relations is gradually emerging. Educational leaders need to be aware of the results of this science and to work toward a closer union of theory and practice.

[1] Stuart Chase, *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 5–6. Quoted by permission of the publishers.

7. Developing good human relationships in schools requires more use of group activities. Teachers need to be encouraged to use group activities and to develop skill in group processes. The work of Democratic Human Relations Committees was effective for improving good human relations.

8. Resistance to different ideas was a frequent occurrence in the Study. Teachers, school administrators, and parents need to encourage freedom, change, and experimentation based on available new knowledge.

CHAPTER SIX

Problem Solving: The Essential Skill

> The Study proposes to examine the qualifications students now have for considering social problems and to provide experiences which may lead to increased ability and interest in solving present and future social problems.[1]

EXTENT OF PROBLEM SOLVING

OBSERVATION

An interesting way to observe school practices is to go to school all day with a particular child. Sitting in classes, eating lunch, going to the gym, passing through halls, and joining in the many conversations he has with companions gives the adult observer some new perspectives on school life.

Staff members observed much, particularly in the early months of the Study. In addition, they observed many individual classes, and made an attempt to develop a system for observations based on a time-sampling technique.[2] From these school observations came the conclusion that relatively few opportunities for examining evidence occurred; little critical thinking was done. (The phrases *problem solving* and *critical thinking* were used interchangeably to describe the general educational objective of achieving unprejudiced, rational thinking.) For some children school was a place where they sat all day — never uttering a word — except outside the classroom. These were the silent children. Other children were talkers; they answered the teacher's questions; they

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* p. 6.

[2] See Arnold R. Meier, Florence Damon Cleary and Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952), pp. 327–333.

proposed ideas; they discussed freely. Sometimes these talkers seemed well-informed. At other times they were not.

From these observations, it appeared that only rarely was there any activity in the school day that would help the child to learn how to solve the great or little social problems that have inundated twentieth-century man. Occasionally a teacher asked, "What is your source of information? Do you have evidence to support that statement?" Once in a great while, a student suggested an alternative plan to one being considered. These brief episodes were the rare gems on which the hope must be based that children were being trained to think critically. Most of the school day, however, seemed to be devoted to a titanic struggle to acquire more information. Why this information was being acquired was not so clear. The evidence from observations was the same at the elementary, the junior high, and the senior high school levels.

TEST DATA

Observation is not the only evidence to indicate that the skills of problem solving or critical thinking occupied a subordinate place in the schools. The test data confirmed observation.

The skill to solve social problems is a complex composed of many other skills. Among these are skills in the accurate interpretation of data, in the use of logical arguments, in the drawing of sound conclusions, in the use of library facilities, in discrimination in judging sources of information, in use of the index, and in interpreting what is read.[1] Tests for some of these skills have been developed. These were included in the battery of tests given to the June graduates of the participating schools. In the senior high schools, the *Iowa Tests of Educational Development* measured understanding of basic social concepts, ability to interpret what was read, and ability to use various sources of information.[2] The

[1] For a careful analysis of the objectives of critical thinking, see I. James Quillen and Lavone A. Hanna, *Education for Social Competence* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1948), pp. 141–2.

[2] Kenneth W. Vaughn and others, *The Iowa Tests of Educational Development* (Iowa City: State University of Iowa and Science Research Associates, 1948).

Watson-Glaser Tests[1] measured a number of the abilities involved in critical thinking as did the *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities*.[2] At the junior high school level, the *Iowa Every-pupil Tests of Basic Skills, Test B: Work-Study Skills* measured abilities to use references and the index.[3] The *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities* was employed at this grade level also. In the elementary schools, in addition to the junior high school tests, the Wrightstone *Test of Critical Thinking*[4] was used. The Wrightstone test measures three aspects of critical thinking: obtaining facts, drawing conclusions, and applying general facts.

Based on the available norms, the June graduates of the participating schools were retarded on all these tests, although there was some evidence of slight improvement during the four years of the Study. It is not necessary to reproduce all the results of this testing here. The data show a similar pattern. Tables 11a and 11b show the results in four schools on two of the *Iowa Tests of Educational Development.*

The four schools considered in Tables 11a and 11b are in lower-than-middle-class economic neighborhoods and would be expected to be below the average for other Detroit schools. On the other hand, the percentile norms are based on the scores of approximately 50,000 pupils in 290 high schools and, therefore, are probably quite representative. It appears that these pupils could improve in their understanding of social concepts and their ability to interpret social studies material.

Table 12 shows similar results for the "Use of Sources of Information," another of the *Iowa Tests of Educational Development.* This test measures a student's ability to utilize the important sources of information, such as textbooks, dictionaries, encyclopedias, atlases, periodicals, yearbooks, periodical indices, and simi-

[1] Goodwin Watson and Edward M. Glaser, *Watson-Glaser Tests of Critical Thinking* (Yonkers: World Book Co., 1942).

[2] J. Wayne Wrightstone and others, *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1939).

[3] H. F. Spitzer and others, *Iowa Every-pupil Tests of Basic Skills* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943).

[4] J. Wayne Wrightstone, *Test of Critical Thinking in the Social Studies* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942).

TABLE 11a

MEDIAN SCORES ON TEST OF BASIC SOCIAL CONCEPTS
MAY, 1949 — 1300 CASES

School	Grade	Median Scores			Total
		Boys	Girls	Total	Percentile*
A	12	19.94	15.45	16.37	34
B	12	20.90	15.75	17.03	38
F	9	9.37	9.63	9.52	28
G	9	11.08	10.43	10.67	40

TABLE 11b

MEDIAN SCORES ON TEST OF ABILITY TO INTERPRET READING MATERIAL
IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES — MAY, 1949 — 1300 CASES

School	Grade	Median Scores			Total
		Boys	Girls	Total	Percentile*
A	12	16.21	15.46	15.65	34
B	12	16.65	14.71	15.40	32
F	9	8.41	10.15	9.35	34
G	9	9.55	9.83	9.72	36

*Percentiles are middle-of-the-year percentile norms and are, therefore, not strictly comparable, for these pupils were tested near the end of the year. The percentile rank would be lower if the norms were based on end-of-the-year testing.

lar specialized books. The medians for these schools were low. Again it appears that the pupils were not doing very well in their ability to utilize sources of information which are usually available to secondary school students.

On the *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities, Form S,* the June graduates of two junior high schools were at the fifteenth and sixteenth percentiles. Percentile means are not available for this test, but median scores from several cities have been reported. Based on these limited data, the median scores of twelfth grade students in the participating schools were two grades retarded. The students did about the same as those in other cities on Parts I and II, "Obtaining Facts and Organizing Facts," but they seemed

TABLE 12

MEDIAN SCORES ON TEST OF USE OF SOURCES OF INFORMATION
MAY, 1949 — 1300 CASES

School	Grade	Median Scores Boys	Girls	Total	Total Percentile*
A	12	14.03	15.18	14.79	28
B	12	15.31	14.54	14.82	29
F	9	6.10	7.86	7.13	22
G	9	7.78	7.85	7.82	28

* Percentiles are middle-of-the-year percentile norms and are, therefore, not strictly comparable, for these pupils were tested near the end of the year. The percentile rank would be lower if the norms were based on end-of-the-year testing.

very low on Parts III and IV, "Interpreting Facts and Applying Generalizations."

The *Iowa-Every-Pupil Test B: Work-Study Skills* was given to the two junior high schools and to the four elementary schools. These tests measure the abilities to read maps, charts, and graphs, and to use an index, the dictionary, and reference books. The pupils from the junior high schools were retarded three and one-half grades on these tests, while the elementary school pupils were retarded from one to two grades.

The Wrightstone *Test of Critical Thinking in the Social Studies* was administered to the June graduates of the four elementary schools. This test has three parts: obtaining facts, drawing conclusions, and applying facts. On this test the individual schools were retarded from one-half grade to two full grades.

The *Watson-Glaser Tests of Critical Thinking* were used with the June graduates of the two participating high schools. Battery I contains four parts testing discrimination in reasoning, and Battery II contains four parts testing general logical reasoning. By various combinations of these tests nine different scores can be obtained. Adequate norms for the test are not available, but the authors provide a comparative table based on scores of 177 high school students. Based on this comparison the two high schools were considered average in one score, low average on seven scores, and low on another score.

From the available test data, it appears that the graduates of these schools have not been well trained to think rigorously about the social problems on which citizens are voting, writing letters to Congressmen, or answering questions of pollsters.

DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL ISSUES

Another type of data related to critical thinking is presented in Table 13. This table shows to what extent the graduates of the two participating high schools thought that certain social issues had been discussed in their school. As part of a Staff-prepared 12A questionnaire, given to the June graduates, students were asked to evaluate the treatment of twenty-eight social issues according to the following directions:

> First, check the items that were discussed and which received considerable emphasis in your classes in this high school. Second, rate the items which you have checked as to how well or how realistically they were discussed in terms of your own point of view on the five-point scale. "Realistically" usually means factually and honestly.

One column of the table indicates the per cent of students who said these items were *not* discussed. These ratings probably include responses from students who were not interested at the time a discussion was taking place, from those who were asking for more discussion than was reasonably possible, and from those who were correct in reporting that no discussion had occurred.

An analysis of this column shows that a majority of the students felt that poverty, religion, nationalism, employment and unemployment, superstition, international issues, the role science plays, medical care for everybody, relief for the aged and needy, the distribution of goods and services, and free enterprise had *not* been discussed in their high school classes. The items which the students apparently felt had received considerable emphasis in their classes were unions and labor relations, housing, war, taxation, voting, delinquency, communism, and corruption in government.

TABLE 13

DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL ISSUES
PER CENT RATINGS BY
214 MALE AND 356 FEMALE GRADUATES
TWO HIGH SCHOOLS, JUNE, 1949

Item	Not discussed	If discussed, how realistically?				
		Not at all	Not Very	Fairly	Quite	Very
1. Unions and Labor Relations	11	4	8	32	24	21
2. Marriage and Divorce	40	8	10	13	14	15
3. Atomic Power	47	7	9	20	8	9
4. Housing	31	4	9	30	14	12
5. Crime	39	7	10	19	14	11
6. War	35	4	6	21	14	20
7. Race Relations	38	8	10	17	11	16
8. Poverty	57	5	8	15	8	7
9. Taxation	34	2	8	22	18	16
10. Voting	24	5	5	21	15	30
11. Religion	54	5	4	16	11	10
12. Politics	42	4	6	23	13	12
13. Nationalism	63	3	7	15	5	7
14. Youth Problems	37	6	7	18	14	18
15. Employment and Unemployment	55	4	6	14	11	10
16. Superstition	71	9	6	8	4	2
17. International Issues	57	2	7	15	9	10
18. Role Science Plays	57	2	7	15	9	10
19. Medical Care for Everybody	71	4	6	11	3	5
20. Relief for Aged and Needy	52	4	9	17	9	9
21. Distribution of Goods and Services	63	4	5	13	9	6
22. Government Ownership and Regulation	48	5	6	17	14	10
23. Press, Movies, and Radio	42	4	8	18	13	15
24. Delinquency	36	5	6	17	15	21
25. Free Enterprise	55	4	5	15	10	11
26. Communism	28	9	9	18	14	22
27. Lobbying	48	3	8	20	10	11
28. Corruption in Government	35	4	10	19	17	15

The last column of the table indicates the per cent of students who felt that issues were being discussed in high-school classes in a very realistic way. More than one-fifth of the students felt that the following issues were discussed very realistically: unions and labor relations, war, voting, delinquency, and communism.

One can have some misgivings about the replies of students to a question concerning the discussion of social issues in high schools, although there is a consistency in the data for each of the four years from the two high schools, which indicates the device has some validity.

If these results are valid in a city in which housing is a major problem, one wonders whether it is wise for nearly one-third of a graduating class from even two high schools to leave school with a feeling that housing has not been discussed. In a city where race relations are of prime importance, is it wise for more than one-third of the graduates to feel that race relations have not been discussed? In a city that is a battleground in the current struggles over the relations of government and business, is it wise for nearly 55 per cent of the graduates to feel that free enterprise has not been discussed realistically?

An examination of the high-school textbooks, courses of study, and current-events materials for social-studies, English, and science classes showed that each of the topics of Table 13 was treated in these instructional materials. In spite of this fact, even teachers felt that many of these topics were not discussed realistically in Detroit schools.

Table 14 gives a rating by teachers of the extent to which these same social issues were discussed in nineteen Detroit public high schools. The social-studies department head or a representative teacher from each high school indicated those items which were discussed in classes and his judgment as to how realistically they were discussed. The teachers' opinions differed from those of the students, but it appears that even the teachers felt that many important topics were not discussed realistically in Detroit high schools.

The classroom observations, the test data, and the opinions of

TABLE 14

DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL ISSUES
PER CENT RATINGS BY
A REPRESENTATIVE TEACHER FROM EACH OF 19 HIGH SCHOOLS
JANUARY, 1949

Item	Not discussed	If discussed, how realistically?				
		Not at all	Not Very	Fairly	Quite	Very
1. Unions and Labor Relations	0	0	10	32	42	16
2. Marriage and Divorce	32	11	26	5	10	16
3. Atomic Power	16	16	26	26	16	0
4. Housing	5	0	16	37	26	16
5. Crime	16	5	26	32	11	10
6. War	0	5	16	42	26	11
7. Race Relations	16	11	5	26	21	21
8. Poverty	10	11	32	21	26	0
9. Taxation	10	0	16	26	16	32
10. Voting	0	0	0	16	16	68
11. Religion	32	16	21	21	10	0
12. Politics	0	0	5	32	37	26
13. Nationalism	21	0	16	26	11	26
14. Youth Problems	26	0	21	11	32	10
15. Employment and Unemployment	11	16	21	21	21	10
16. Superstition	58	16	21	5	0	0
17. International Issues	5	5	0	53	26	11
18. Role Science Plays	47	0	21	16	11	5
19. Medical Care for Everybody	26	11	5	37	16	5
20. Relief for Aged and Needy	16	16	21	32	10	5
21. Distribution of Goods and Services	10	5	21	16	32	16
22. Government Ownership and Regulation	0	11	16	26	42	5
23. Press, Movies, and Radio	21	5	16	21	21	16
24. Delinquency	11	0	21	21	26	21
25. Free Enterprise	0	5	10	21	32	32
26. Communism	5	5	21	32	11	26
27. Lobbying	10	16	26	16	21	11
28. Corruption in Government	5	16	16	32	21	10

students and teachers indicate that critical thinking about crucial social issues was not being done effectively in the schools. The Study felt that this was a significant, neglected area in the citizenship programs of the participating schools.

BLOCKS TO PROBLEM SOLVING

The consultative-cooperative relationship developed in the Study meant that the school faculties and the Staff were free to work on those matters which seemed of greatest importance. Getting a better understanding of children always received top priority. At the same time social pressures impelled the schools to give great attention to an analysis of the teaching of democracy.

To a considerable extent, work on problem solving fell by the wayside because of the pressures on these other activities which seemed more imperative. Yet, teachers and Staff members did give attention to problem solving. There were many discussions of how to teach thinking, how to handle evidence, and how to improve classroom discussion. One consultant, in particular, talked regularly with faculty groups about problem-solving procedures.

Problem solving did not seem to take in the schools except in certain instances which will be discussed later. What caused this condition? Three blocks, in addition to lack of time, seem to have interfered with efforts to improve the teaching of problem-solving procedures: 1) the lack of a knowledge of problem-solving theory, 2) the lack of know-how, and 3) insecurity of teachers.

LACK OF PROBLEM-SOLVING THEORY

The ability to think straight is certainly an essential for the democratic citizen. Schools have given increased attention to thinking, as a major objective, during the past two decades. John Dewey's description of the five steps in reflective thinking gave impetus to this movement.[1] The Cornell Project on Critical Thinking, the Eight-year Study, yearbooks on critical thinking published by the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Mathematics Teachers, and other similar

[1] John Dewey, *How We Think* (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1933), pp. 106–18.

projects contributed to the movement to teach problem solving to pupils.[1]

It seemed to the Staff, however, that the results of this work were not widely diffused among the teachers with whom we worked. Basic theory did not seem to be well known. Accordingly, during the summer of 1946, we undertook, as a Staff project, the development of a systematic basis for teaching problem solving. The result of this review of the literature on problem solving was published in a schematic form as a pamphlet in an effort to make the process readily available to the teachers.[2] This pamphlet was available to teachers in the participating schools and other interested persons.

In this pamphlet, the process of problem solving was organized under four headings:

1. Defining the Problem—
    a. Encountering the problem.
    b. Selecting the problem.
    c. Wording the problem.
    d. Setting up tentative solutions.
2. Working on the Problem—
    a. Recalling known information.
    b. Determining need for more information.
    c. Locating sources of information.
    d. Selecting and organizing information.
    e. Analyzing and interpreting information.
3. Drawing a Conclusion—
    a. Stating possible conclusions.
    b. Determining the most reasonable and logical conclusions.

[1] Howard R. Anderson, ed., *Teaching Critical Thinking in the Social Studies, Thirteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (Washington: the Council, 1942); Harold T. Fawcett, *The Nature of Proof, Thirteenth Yearbook of Teachers of Mathematics* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938); H. H. Giles, S. P. McCutchen and A. N. Zechial, *Exploring the Curriculum* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942); The Open-Mindedness Study, Philadelphia Public Schools, *Toward the Open Mind* (Philadelphia: The Board of Public Education, 1950).

[2] Citizenship Education Study Staff, *Problem Solving* (Detroit: Citizenship Education Study, Wayne University, 1948).

c. Reaching a conclusion.

4. Carrying Out the Conclusion—
   a. Acting on the conclusion.
   b. Reconsidering the conclusion.

Parallel to each main heading, questions to aid in the process, cautions, and objectives were listed.

The publication of this pamphlet did not of itself stimulate a great number of problem-solving activities in the participating schools, although new interest was manifested. Some teachers tried the procedures, others read the pamphlet. Certainly there was no wholesale rush to teach problem solving in classes on the part of social-studies teachers, mathematics teachers, or science teachers, but the systematic formulation did serve as an aid to those teachers who attempted to teach problem-solving skills.

When teachers became concerned about a theoretical basis for problem solving, some confusion developed as to distinctions between problem solving, logic, and the scientific method. Since the Staff was seeking ways by which unprejudiced thinking might lead to the solution of serious social problems, these conflicts did not seem fundamental ones. The following statement by President Conant of Harvard gives one basis for adjusting conflicts which arise because teachers have been trained in different disciplines.

> In the last twenty-five years, indoctrination in the scientific method has been put forward with more and more insistence as one of the primary aims of modern education. I am the last to decry the importance of science or to suggest that we should not attempt to make it as understandable as possible to the average citizen, but the slogan in question, I must confess, worries me. I frankly do not know what my friends and colleagues have in mind. For the explanation is usually appended that by the scientific method is meant something far more general than the methods by which the natural sciences have advanced: it is proclaimed as a way of looking at life; at times it seems almost a panacea for social problems. . . . If we seek to spread more widely the desire to examine facts without prejudice and to glorify the bold and impartial in-

> quirers of the twentieth century we should go to other fields than those of the natural sciences.
>
> We should hold before our students as models those few who in the world of human affairs have courageously, honestly, and intelligently based their conclusions on reason and inquiry. Furthermore, rather than leave in the mind of the pupils the very dubious proposition that the methods of science are applicable to all manner of practical human affairs, we should show how legal methods of inquiry have been used in Anglo-Saxon countries. Likewise we must study the rational methods of merchants, manufacturers, soldiers, and statesmen which were employed with considerable success for generations, long before any idolatry of the word *science* came over the horizon. Too many educators appear to underrate the amount of hard-headed thinking which has been done by practical men in the history of the human race. We must stress the significance of rational inquiry throughout our general education, but the identification of this type of inquiry with science confuses rather than clarifies the presentation.[1]

Perhaps it would be well for teachers to realize that the scientific method, historical research, techniques of propaganda analysis, and courses in logic are all part of the larger goal — examining facts without prejudice.

LACK OF KNOW-HOW

Those teachers who did try to use problem-solving techniques with classes found that they encountered certain difficulties.[2] Courses of study usually are not organized in terms of problem solving, the necessary varieties of instructional material were lacking, pupils were conditioned to a different type of teaching. The traditional classroom technique of assignment, discussion, and testing was not easily adapted to problem solving. The ability to

[1] Reprinted by permission of the publishers from James Bryant Conant, *Education in a Divided World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, copyright, 1948, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College), pp. 119–121.

[2] See Grace Weston and Jemima Miller, "Slow Learners Improve in Critical Thinking," *Social Education,* XIII (1949), 315–18.

teach problem solving required a higher skill than teaching that was aimed solely at the acquisition of information.

Those teachers who became successful at teaching problem solving found that several things aided them in their attempts. First, they were more successful if they did not work alone. If they could meet with other teachers to talk over teaching procedures, they gained in skill and in confidence. Second, they were more successful if the work of a semester was divided into fairly large blocks of time (three to five weeks) instead of into daily or weekly lessons, although with slower learners the large block of time had to be used in ways that enabled pupils to solve some problems in a reasonably short period of time. Third, improvement in ability as a discussion leader was a necessary part of improving the ability to use problem-solving procedures. Fourth, dividing classes into groups or committees was an aid. Fifth, spending time planning with pupils on purposes, procedures, and responsibilities was necessary. Sixth, more numerous books, magazines, and pamphlets were required, and increased use was made of trips, interviews, surveys, and adult speakers before classes. Helping pupils to gain skill in solving social problems required that teachers be more sensitive to those good teaching procedures which have gained increased acceptance during the past twenty years.

INSECURITY

Another reason for the failure to do more problem solving arose from an intangible insecurity on the part of teachers — particularly social-studies teachers. Many teachers did not feel free to study controversial social issues in their classrooms. Even though the basic agreement authorizing the Study, as adopted by the Board of Education, provided for "the open and frank discussion of any or all important contemporary problems," teachers were fearful. Did these fears arise from past administrative or parental pressures? Were they caused by the activities of investigating committees? Were they a part of the times in which we live? Regardless of the cause, the fact was that some teachers found it safer to live in ancient times, to teach the number of Senators in Congress,

or to end a course with World War I, rather than to provide students with opportunities to study possible solutions to social problems that influence their daily lives.

On two occasions this insecurity of teachers with respect to discussing controversial questions was considered by the Local Advisory Committee to the Study. This Committee consisted of fifteen prominent lay people and school officials, who were "to give guidance to the director in a continuing review of the Study." Some excerpts from the minutes of the meetings of this committee may illustrate the thoughts of these advisors on questions related to this subject.

> *Should controversial issues be discussed in the schools?*
>
> There was no one present who felt that controversial issues should not be discussed in the schools. There was variation in opinion as to the extent to which such issues should be discussed. The maturity of pupils and the ability of teachers to maintain a balanced program and to get a diversity of viewpoint were factors which were felt to need consideration in the handling of such issues. In general it was felt that if such issues were avoided the real heart of the social education of boys and girls would be removed.
>
> *What is required of the teacher in the discussion of controversial issues?*
>
> There was general agreement that the teacher's attitude is crucial in the handling of controversial matters. A judicial attitude was favored. Some expressed the opinion that teachers should not take sides on an issue at least until pupils have had an opportunity to consider the question thoroughly. The skill of the moderator of the town meeting was cited as ideal for the teacher of controversial matters.
>
> *What materials should be used?*
>
> There was difference of opinion on the extent to which school personnel should be expected to censor materials before pupils studied them. It was suggested that teachers should encourage pupils to bring in a wide variety of materials from their own homes and neighborhoods. It was sug-

gested that some modern novels could be used as an approach to social problems. Film forums were suggested also.

How can the teaching of contemporary social events be improved?

Those present stated that many teachers are now doing an excellent job in dealing with contemporary affairs. One person emphasized that it was important first to get loyalty to the country and that dissent comes later. Stated another way it was suggested that there are two goals—1) to get dissatisfaction with the status quo, and 2) to get loyalty to society because change will take place gradually. The use of key teachers was suggested as a way of getting other teachers to improve in their work. It was also suggested that meetings be held with teachers on the question of handling controversial problems in order that they might come to some common agreements.

What values are there in treating controversial issues in schools?

The following values were cited:

a) to encourage students to look for more than one alternative in the solution of a problem.
b) to get pupils to look for and insist on evidence.
c) to develop in pupils the ability to reach common agreement.
d) to get an appreciation of the difficulties in solving problems where there are conflicting viewpoints.
e) to develop habits and skills in the locating and use of materials, in discussion techniques, and in reaching conclusions.
f) to give training in moving from discussion to action.[1]

Is a written policy on the teaching of controversial issues desirable?

There was no general agreement on the wisdom of having a written policy. Some felt that not having a written policy tended to shut off the discussion of current affairs and caused increased insecurity for teachers. Others felt that an attempt

[1] Minutes of the Local Advisory Committee, June 10, 1946. From the files of the Citizenship Education Study.

> to adopt a written policy in itself led to controversy which was harmful to the continued teaching of current events. Two concrete suggestions were: 1) the Board of Education be presented with a statement of policy which had been prepared by some national organization comparable to the A.A.U.P. statement on academic freedom which was adopted by the Detroit Board of Education for Wayne University; 2) the Study should present its conclusions with respect to the teaching of controversial issues and publish those as a part of the final reports.[1]

Although problem-solving skills can and should be taught in relation to personal problems of pupils (how to get along with an older brother) or in relation to school problems (where can space be found to play ball) it is of paramount importance that young people get started on the study and analysis of serious social problems while they are still in school. Many of these problems will be in process of solution during the years of their youth and of their adult life. A deeply motivated desire to want to aid in solving these problems and some skill in the application of problem-solving procedures would do much to increase their effectiveness in civic life. Boards of education, superintendents, principals, teacher organizations, and parents need to encourage teachers to deal realistically with contemporary social issues in a problem-solving atmosphere.

THE USE OF PROBLEM-SOLVING PROCEDURES

Although problem-solving procedures were never widely employed in the schools of the Study, two special ways in which they were used have considerable significance: 1) the use in group situations, such as student councils; and 2) the use with slow learners.

Student councils, homerooms, clubs, and other groups of students were encouraged to aid in the solution of school and community problems. The cafeteria, the playground, the classroom, and out-of-school life provided a host of problems that were the grist for the activities of these groups. By tradition such groups op-

[1] *Ibid.*, February 1, 1949.

erated through some semblance of parliamentary procedure. Sponsors and Staff members tried to aid in the improvement of parliamentary usage. As happens with adult groups occasionally, some students would become adept at parliamentary procedures and pervert their use. Filibustering, trick motions, and similar devices were sometimes used to prevent the solution of problems. Parliamentary procedure on these occasions seemed to be a technique for preventing the solution of problems, rather than a device for aiding a democratic group to solve a problem.

In one junior high school, the student council experimented with the use of a problem-solving procedure. When resolved into the committee of the whole, the steps in problem solving, outlined above, were followed. These steps, printed on large placards, were placed in the front of the council room. It was an interesting experience over a period of several semesters to note the increased efficiency and interest that resulted. To hear a chairman ask: Are there any other proposed solutions to this problem? Do we need any additional facts on a solution? Are the sources of information reliable? instead of the typical Is there any discussion? Are we ready for the motion? Can an amendment to an amendment be amended? was a stimulating experience. Young people trained in such procedures gain advantages that will not be dissipated easily.

From this original use of the problem-solving procedure by a student council, the practice spread to homerooms and clubs and was employed successfully by schools for an occasional faculty meeting.

A second significant use of the problem-solving procedure was with a group of slow learners.[1] This use warrants description because so frequently teachers say, in effect, "I'd like to teach problem solving or critical thinking, but only the brighter children can do it. What will I do with my slow ones?"

Bright children do catch on to critical thinking procedures more readily than do slow learners. But slow learners are able to do

[1] Weston and Miller, *op. cit.*

problem solving and seem to be more interested and alert when they are engaged in such procedures.[1]

A teacher and a Staff member tried the problem-solving steps with a tenth grade geography class for two semesters. Pupils were assigned to this class because they weren't considered bright enough to take college preparatory or commercial courses. In addition, many of them had difficult personality problems.

The first few days of the course were spent in rapid review of the geography book and a description of the problem-solving procedure. Then the teacher asked, "What problem should we try to solve first?"

The pupils chose, after slow and painstaking effort, the problem of conserving our water supply. Then the pupils searched for information, tried solutions, and finally reached a conclusion.

A trained visitor observed the class during the first weeks of the semester. He was well aware of the difficulties of language, of reading, and of writing which the class and the teacher had to recognize and surmount. He visited the class again near the end of the school year when they were reporting their conclusions on the problem: What should be the policy of the United States toward China?

The visitor told the class at the end of the class period that he would have no fear for the future of the United States if the Congress of the United States would do as well in their analysis of the China problem as had been done by this group. Here were pupils who had seriously considered alternative solutions; who had gotten information from books, magazines, motion pictures, and interviews with adults; who had assembled their information, weighed evidence, and voted on a solution in terms of the available evidence. Is this not the democratic procedure? Yet, these

[1] The Study did not have the desire, the time, nor the resources to carry on strictly experimental projects in problem solving. The Staff believed that the evidence on the value of problem solving is now established. The problem is not: Is problem solving good? rather, it is: How can we get more problem solving in our schools? Teachers who are not familiar with the experimental evidence may wish to examine: Charles C. Peters, *Teaching High School History and Social Studies for Citizenship Training* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami, 1948) and I. James Quillen and Lavone A. Hanna, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–83.

were pupils who some teachers at the start of the school year thought should be expelled from school and of whom some adults say, "They cannot, because of their ignorance, be trusted with the vote."

These slow learners had had a difficult time with abstract terms in their previous schooling. They had not learned readily from the written word. Most of them could not verbalize well, although there were a few who talked much with little information, jumped at conclusions, and were led easily by persuasive argument. The experience with the steps in problem solving gave these slow learners a concrete problem, showed them the necessity of getting information from a variety of sources, showed them how to test information against possible conclusions, and helped them to develop a habit of asking, "Is this true?" These pupils had a vivid learning experience.

There is need for much greater exploration of problem-solving procedures with slow learners. In our experience, problem solving was no panacea, but the contrast between the attitude of the class described above and the lethargy, disinterest, and misbehavior of the traditional slow-learning class warrants careful trial of this procedure by an increasing number of teachers. Our experience leads us to believe that the slow learner can learn to think — even if he thinks slowly. If this is true, would not the average and above-average pupils profit even more from such procedures?

Teachers in the future will need to give greatly increased attention to teaching pupils to think critically. Hitler demonstrated that the agencies of mass communication can destroy the critical faculties of a citizenry in a few years. Can schools aid pupils to think straight about complicated social problems even if forces arise which attempt to distort truth? This is the great challenge; from the evidence of the Study, this challenge seems not to have been met satisfactory as yet.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Pupils in the schools are getting only limited experience in problem solving. Important social issues are not discussed

as generally or as adequately as seems desirable.

2. During the years of the Study, some teachers became more skillful and frequent users of problem-solving techniques with pupils.

3. Problem-solving techniques were used more effectively as teachers gained a general understanding of the theoretical basis for problem solving.

4. Teaching by problem-solving procedures requires that teachers be well trained in the use of group work, pupil-teacher planning, unit methods, and discussion techniques.

5. The use of a systematic plan for solving social problems was helpful and needs to be taught as a regular part of school instruction. This practice might well be adopted as part of the typical course in civics at the junior high school level and the practice repeated as part of the twelfth-grade social studies course.

6. Skills in the use of reference materials, sources of information, and study skills were neglected. More attention to these aspects of teaching is merited.

7. More instructional materials and a wider variety of materials is required when teaching by problem-solving procedures.

8. When teachers are uncertain as to whether controversial issues can be studied, they do not employ problem-solving procedures.

9. Problem-solving procedures seem to demonstrate special promise for use in group situations (student councils, clubs, and faculties).

10. Problem-solving procedures appear to improve the interest and learning of the slow-learning pupil.

11. Teachers need to examine their teaching practices to find ways by which pupils can gain experiences in stating problems, seeking and weighing evidence, and reaching conclusions.

12. Boards of education, school administrators, and parents need to assure teachers that pupils are expected to study controversial contemporary affairs.

13. Increased discussion of important contemporary problems needs to take place in schools.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Some Fundamentals: Knowledge and Skills

> The Study proposes to examine the knowledge, skills, and abilities young people in the schools now have in the areas of civic, political, economic, and social citizenship and to encourage schools to develop citizens who possess and use the knowledge, skills, and abilities necessary in a democratic society.[1]

OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT requires citizens to make important decisions on public policy. Each citizen may influence public policy by acting on his decisions in innumerable ways: by voting for elected representatives, by voting on special issues through initiative or referendum procedures, by signing petitions, by writing letters to government officials or to newspapers, and by responding in polling interviews, conversing with neighbors or co-workers, and participating in a variety of organized groups — political, social, or vocational.

To participate in these activities effectively, the good citizen must have an understanding of the structure and functions of government, the ways in which public policy can be influenced, the operation of the economic system, and the relationship of all these to the complex social heritage. He must have knowledge of significant contemporary affairs. He needs skills and abilities in reading, locating information, listening, discussing, and observing. With such knowledge and skill, the good citizen needs to become more proficient in civic action.

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* pp. 7–8.

KNOWLEDGE OF CURRENT AFFAIRS

The civic competence of any individual is directly related to his knowledge of current affairs. Without a knowledge of contemporary events, the citizen is helpless to judge the competence of public officials, the wisdom of specific laws, or the value of his tax dollars. Recognizing the importance of boys and girls being interested in and informed about contemporary world, national, state, and local affairs, the Study included a test of current events in its regular testing program.

The test used was prepared by Staff members in cooperation with the Department of Instructional Research, Detroit Public Schools, and was given in early October, 1945, 1947, and 1949 to a sample of Detroit students at the ninth- and twelfth-grade levels. It was a multiple-choice test and each year consisted of sixty items covering a wide range of political, economic, and social matters publicized during the preceding twelve months. It was called *The Current Affairs Interest Inventory* and was administered a few weeks after the long summer vacation on the assumption that pupils most interested in current affairs would do better than other pupils because they might deliberately give more attention to newspapers, magazines, and radio commentators during the vacation months.

The 1949 test contained twenty-eight items concerned with national affairs, twenty about world affairs, seven about Michigan, and five about Detroit. Thirty-six of these items dealt with events; twenty-four, with people. Some typical items were:

3. The Hoover Commission has recommended that Congress
    1. Reorganize the executive department of the federal government.
    2. End discrimination in the United States.
    3. Ratify the Atlantic Pact.
    4. Increase expenditures for national defense.
    5. Answer not given.
8. The head of the Russian government is
    1. Stalin.

2. Gromyko.
3. Zhukov.
4. Molotov.
5. Answer not given.

17. The present prime minister of Great Britain is
    1. Clement Atlee.
    2. Anthony Eden.
    3. Ernest Bevin.
    4. Winston Churchill.
    5. Answer not given.

29. A Senate filibuster in the 81st Congress caused the defeat of the
    1. Marshall Plan.
    2. Housing Bill.
    3. Civil Rights Program.
    4. Rent Control Program.
    5. Answer not given.

35. Becoming increasingly more important in our lives because it can detect the presence of radioactivity is the
    1. Geiger counter.
    2. Radioisotope.
    3. Astrolabe.
    4. Cyclotron.
    5. Answer not given.

52. The new civic building being constructed in downtown Detroit near the Detroit River is the
    1. Historical Museum.
    2. Veteran's Memorial.
    3. Public Library.
    4. Detroit Street Railway Terminal.
    5. Answer is not given.

In 1945 and 1947, the current-events test was administered to 9B and 12B pupils in six intermediate (junior high) schools and six senior high schools; approximately 4000 pupils were tested each year. In 1949, the test was given to approximately 6400 pu-

pils, a one-third stratified sample of all 9B and 12B pupils in the Detroit schools.

One problem in current-events testing is to determine whether the test given one year is easier or more difficult than that of another year. Unless some control of test difficulty is developed, the results from one year to another cannot be compared. To overcome this hazard, twenty items (one-third of the total) were repeated on each of the tests without the students or teachers being informed of this repetition device. The question on the present prime minister of Great Britain, listed in the 1949 test, is an example of an item that was repeated in each test.

In addition to taking the test, each pupil filled out a questionnaire which supplied information pertinent to the ways in which pupils acquired knowledge of current events.

The median scores for each test, by grade and sex, are shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15

MEDIAN SCORES ON CURRENT-AFFAIRS TESTS, 1945–49

Test	Possible Score	Median Scores			
		9B		12B	
		Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
1945	60	31.37	34.99	37.05	42.56
1947	60	15.53	17.68	23.19	27.97
1949	60	17.89	20.58	24.96	30.48

Three generalizations from this table are worthy of special mention.

1. Pupils made their highest scores in 1945, dropped down in 1947, and improved slightly in 1949.

Analysis of the twenty items which were repeated on each test shows comparable results on the repetitive items. Fifty-six per cent of all students answered these questions correctly in 1945, 43 per cent in 1947, and 49 per cent in 1949. The differences in test results from year to year are apparently not due, primarily, to the

difficulty of the test items. Rather, the degree of interest in and emphasis on contemporary affairs varied from year to year. By the fall of 1945 the war had just ended and interest in contemporary affairs seemed to be at a high peak. Knowledge of current events apparently was related to the impact that current happenings had on the lives of individuals.

2. Boys did better than girls on each test and at each grade level.

This sex difference in knowledge of current events has been noted by previous investigators. On other tests of social, political, or economic information given by the Study, boys usually did better than girls. This difference between the sexes probably deserves more careful consideration in planning social-studies instruction than has yet been given.

3. Twelfth-grade students made better scores than ninth grade students.

The greater maturity of the twelfth-grade student leads to an expectation that they will do better on current-events tests than pupils in lower grades. When one considers, however, that nearly all children in the ninth-grade age group were enrolled in school, while only about 50 per cent of them were still in school at the twelfth-grade level, the test differences between the two grades do not seem to be so great. The differences of eight to ten correct answers on the sixty-item test could be accounted for by the fact that many of the duller pupils had left school before reaching the twelfth grade. Much more information is needed about the relationship of maturity to knowledge of current events.

The results on these tests are, of course, not solely a result of school instruction. Newspapers, radios, movies, and family discussion are powerful educative forces. The questionnaire which each student completed as part of the testing procedure revealed how influential these agencies are in pupils' lives. From these replies the following conclusions were drawn:

Life was read more regularly than any other magazine.

More than one-half of all students listened regularly to some radio commentator. Walter Winchell, Gabriel Heatter, and Lowell Thomas were listened to most regularly.

Most students saw a newsreel at a theater about once a week.

Students indicated that current events were discussed in their classes once in a while. Somewhat more than one-half of the students studied a current-events paper regularly in school. This practice was more common at the ninth-grade level than at the twelfth-grade level.

Current events were discussed in the home from once a week to once a month. Almost all students thought that father knew more about current events than anyone else in the family.

The 1945 group listened more to the radio, read the newspaper more regularly, saw more newsreels, had more family discussion, and used current-events papers more than the 1947 or 1949 groups did.

Students felt that they gained most of their knowledge of current events from the daily newspapers; next came radio broadcasts and news commentators. Schools apparently had not impressed students as an important source of knowledge of current events.

From all this medley of educative forces, how much does the typical student know about any particular current happening? The 1949 test results were based on a one-third sample of the entire Detroit public school population in the 9B and 12B grades. An item analysis showing the percentage of correct responses by grades for sixteen items is shown in Table 16. This table shows (item 3) that 22 per cent of the girls and 22 per cent of the boys in the ninth grade in Detroit schools knew that the Hoover Commission was concerned with the reorganization of the federal government, while 32 per cent of the girls and 36 per cent of the boys at the twelfth grade knew this fact. The table shows a considerable lack of information, since the events and persons had been in the news over a fairly long period of time.

Some pupils did exceedingly well on these tests; others made very low scores. A wide range of scores between schools was noted, also. The high school with the highest median 12B score for boys on the test had 38; the high school with the lowest median score for boys had 24.5. Similar variations were noted in median scores for girls, and in the scores for the intermediate schools.

TABLE 16

PER CENT OF CORRECT RESPONSES ON SIXTEEN TEST ITEMS

1949 CURRENT-AFFAIRS TEST

Subject	Per Cent of Correct Responses			
	Grade 9B		Grade 12B	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Events				
3. Hoover Commission	22	22	32	36
29. Civil Rights Program........	17	21	35	38
35. Geiger counter	15	31	17	48
39. National budget	34	33	45	48
43. UNESCO	28	29	26	30
52. Detroit Veteran's Memorial..	50	46	56	69
54. China White Paper..........	26	25	36	43
People				
1. Harry Truman	97	97	99	99
7. John Foster Dulles..........	9	8	16	21
8. Joseph Stalin	79	85	87	95
15. Victor Reuther	78	79	86	93
17. Clement Atlee	20	24	56	68
33. Frank Hague	16	17	13	30
36. William Green	6	9	14	21
44. Ralph Bunche	29	31	45	49
56. Homer Ferguson	63	64	78	84

Taking into consideration the fact that differences in mental ability and neighborhood environment play a great part in all learning, it would seem from the results of these tests that on the whole the students were not well informed about current events.

Can anything be done to improve this condition? Schools in a democracy cannot afford to rely on general public interest as the chief educative force for the teaching of current events. The 1947 results (Table 15) indicate the loss that results when public interest wanes.

Since 1947, the following things have been done to improve the teaching of current events in Detroit:

1. Detroit high schools joined the Junior Town Meeting League and participated regularly in Town Meeting broadcasts.
2. Regular weekly news summaries are made by panels of students over the Detroit Public School radio station WDTR.
3. A Saturday morning high school discussion forum, for delegates from each high school, was developed.
4. A local newspaper gave funds to the Wayne University Audio-Visual Consultation Bureau to prepare a monthly filmstrip on some significant current happening. The filmstrip was given to each secondary school.
5. An experiment was attempted to determine the effect of the use of the current-event filmstrips as contrasted with an adaptation of the Junior Town Meeting technique for classroom purposes. The results were inconclusive, neither method showing significantly greater results.
6. A special war-time high-school semester course in contemporary affairs was continued and efforts were made to get more high schools to offer the course. This course was taught without a text and was devoted exclusively to current affairs.
7. Schools have been encouraged to make greater use of current-events papers and pamphlet materials dealing with contemporary problems.

All these efforts point in one direction. If our young people are to be well informed, schools must give more time to the study of contemporary life. An adequate knowledge of current events will not be developed unless far more time is given and better methods are used. Fortunately, several attempts have been made in recent years to improve the teaching of current affairs, which should result in improved current-events teaching in the next few years.[1]

[1] See James F. Corbett and others, *Current Affairs and Modern Education* (New York: *The New York Times,* 1950), Lucien Kinney and Katharine Dresden, *Better Learning Through Current Materials* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), and Walter E. Myer and Clay Coss, *Education for Democratic Survival* (Washington: Civic Education Service, 1942).

KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, GOVERNMENT, AND ECONOMICS

Knowledge of American history and government has long been recognized as essential for intelligent participation in civic affairs. Without an understanding of the historical past, one cannot truly appreciate our heritage of freedom. Similarly, failure to understand the fundamental structure of the American system of government would mean that citizens could not effectively participate in civic life. Separation of powers, checks and balances, the relations of national, state, and local governments, the Bill of Rights, the evolution of the United States' position in world affairs, and the growth of the labor movement are examples of topics that require a high degree of popular understanding.

A study of American history and government is required at three levels in the Detroit schools. Under a cycle plan, these subjects are taught in elementary, junior high, and senior high schools.

Some data are available on the effectiveness of the teaching of these subjects. For the most part, these data are derived from the participating schools and from some special experiments; no city-wide survey was attempted as was done with the 1949 current-events test.

One form of the *Cooperative American History Test*[1] was administered to the June graduates of the two participating high schools during four successive years. This test consisted of ninety-eight multiple-choice questions dealing with political, social, and economic facts of our history. The results of this testing for 1949 are shown in Table 17.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this table is that the boys did better than the girls in American history. This condition was true for each year in which the tests were given.

The second conclusion might be that these students were not well informed in the field of American history, because a score in

[1] Mary Willis and others, *Cooperative American History Test* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1941).

TABLE 17

MEDIAN SCORES ON AMERICAN-HISTORY TEST—586 CASES

JUNE, 1949

School	Median Scores		
	Boys	Girls	Total
A	49.50	40.53	42.47
B	47.74	38.89	41.66

the forties on a test of ninety-eight items may seem low. This tentative conclusion is not true, however, for the following reasons. First, the median score on this test is a statistical score in which the number of right answers is diminished by one-third of the wrong answers. This procedure is employed to eliminate the effects of guessing, by not counting omitted questions. The median score of 42.47 for School A does not mean, therefore, that the typical student in School A got only 42.47 questions correct out of the ninety-eight questions. The number correct would be higher.

Even granting this statistical factor, how well are these schools doing? A comparison with national norms shows that a score of 42 is at the 55th percentile, based on the testing of 25,000 pupils in 110 schools. In other words, these pupils are slightly above the average for the nation. Since these pupils were tested at the end of the twelfth grade, one full year after the completion of an American-history course, the results seem satisfactory. The rate of forgetting of factual matter is very rapid; if the pupils had been tested immediately upon the completion of their American-history course, they would, probably, have done better.

One other factor indicating successful teaching of American history is of even greater importance. These two high schools, as has been previously stated, did not send more than 8 per cent of their graduates to college. They are not high schools in which high scholastic achievement would be expected from the mass of the pupils. In most subject-matter tests, these schools would be in the lower one-third of Detroit high schools. If schools of this type do so well in comparison with schools in other cities, it seems fair to

conclude that Detroit pupils are doing well in the field of American history.

The most significant fact about performance on tests of information, for large cities, is not the mass level of achievement but the great range of achievement among individual pupils and among the different schools. This point, as it applies to knowledge of American history, can be illustrated from Detroit's experience in an annual American history contest sponsored by a local newspaper. During the four years of the Study, two of the nineteen high schools participating in this contest averaged four out of five pupils in the *upper* 25 per cent of the contestants each year and never had a pupil score in the *lower* 25 per cent. Based on national norms, these very able pupils were all above the 99th percentile. For two other high schools, exactly the opposite situation was true. These two schools averaged more than four out of five pupils in the *lower* 25 per cent of the contestants each year and never had a pupil score in the *upper* 25 per cent. Does this mean that the quality of the instruction in the first two schools is better than in the latter two schools? Not necessarily. A study of the students participating in the contest revealed that the better scores were made by pupils with the highest intelligence ratings who lived in the upper economic residential areas of the city. Students getting the poorer scores had lower intelligence ratings and lived in the blighted areas of the city. From these data it seems that knowledge of American history, on the part of pupils who have been exposed to the same courses, is determined to a great extent by neighborhood environment. It may well be that as we raise the economic level of our people and eliminate the blighted areas of our large cities, conditions will be established by which pupils in these areas will perform as creditably as do the pupils now in our better residential areas, provided we continue to teach American history as well as we have done in the past.

The data on knowledge of American government follow a similar pattern. Boys do better than girls. There is a great range of knowledge among pupils. Schools in the better neighborhoods do better than those in the poor neighborhoods.

The data collected in the high-school democracy experiment with twelfth-grade students, described in Chapter IV, illustrate these points. Table 18 shows the median scores obtained by these twelfth-grade students on the *Cooperative American Government Test*—a test of eighty-five items.[1]

How good are these scores? An accurate answer cannot be given because the norms supplied by the test maker are based on only a few hundred cases from three high schools—not enough for accurate comparisons. Based on these inadequate norms, however, School C is at the 99th percentile, School D at the 96th percentile, and School A at the 85th percentile. These students are doing exceeding well by these comparisons. It is probably fair to assume that the knowledge of American government is being taught satisfactorily in these schools.

TABLE 18

MEDIAN SCORES ON GOVERNMENT TEST—350 CASES
FEBRUARY, 1949

School	Median Scores		
	Boys	Girls	Total
A	46.77	41.82	42.94
C	58.88	56.29	57.48
D	52.75	48.67	50.68

As industrial life has become an increasingly powerful factor in American society, the relations of government and business have become more closely intertwined. Where once the roles of government and business were clearly defined, today it is difficult, frequently, to determine their exact spheres. As a consequence, the citizen is called upon to make momentous decisions which depend primarily upon an understanding of the American economic system.

During the Depression years, the Detroit Board of Education

[1] John Haefner and others, *The Cooperative American Government Test* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1947).

recognized the importance of an understanding of economics and established a requirement that a one-semester course in high-school economics would be necessary for graduation from a Detroit high school. This course is given in the twelfth grade.[1] Detroit is one of the few school systems requiring an economics course. How well equipped in the fundamentals of economics are these pupils?

Table 19 shows the median scores obtained by twelfth-grade pupils on the *Cooperative Economics Test*—a test of eighty-eight items.[2] The pattern of the results is quite similar to that of the results of tests on the other subjects, although School E is in a better residential area than the other schools and did not do as well on the test as might reasonably have been expected. The norms for this test, too, are based on only a few hundred cases and, hence, are not adequate for comparative purposes. The norms show that Schools E and D were somewhat above the 50th percentile, while Schools A and B were at the 20th percentile.

TABLE 19

MEDIAN SCORES ON ECONOMICS TEST—108 CASES FEBRUARY, 1949

School	Median Scores		
	Boys	Girls	Total
A	14.50	14.50	14.50
B	20.33	13.25	13.94
D	32.00	17.00	25.00
E	26.00	19.50	23.67

The small number of cases tested and the inadequate norms do not permit drawing valid conclusions. In all probability these

[1] This requirement may be met by taking a regular economics course or by a course in American life and problems. By state law, civics is, also, required, and this requirement may be met by the problems course.

[2] Howard R. Anderson and others, *Cooperative Economics Test* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1939).

schools are doing reasonably satisfactory work in the teaching of economics, but the results do not seem to be as good as in the case of American history or government.

From the evidence collected by the Study, it appears that the pupils in the Detroit schools are progressing satisfactorily in their knowledge of American history and government. The data on economics are not adequate for making conclusions. Improvements could, of course, be made in these knowledge areas, but the development of better citizens will depend in all probability upon improvements in other areas where progress has not been equally satisfactory.

UNDERSTANDING AND SKILLS

Knowledge acquired from particular subject-matter courses is useful to the citizen chiefly when he can apply this knowledge in new situations. Knowing names, dates, or facts will be important only if sufficient understanding has been obtained to apply these items of information at appropriate times in new settings. Abilities to think, to acquire new information, to interpret and judge new ideas, to compare new ideas with old ones, and to see the broad generalizations in different situations require understanding and skill. How well were Detroit pupils doing in these areas? Were the pupils developing satisfactorily in the use of knowledge as they seemed to be doing in the acquisition of knowledge?

Information on these matters was presented in the previous chapter. The data showed that on these problem-solving skills the schools were not doing as well as might be expected. The results lead to one conclusion: while these schools were teaching factual information satisfactorily, they were not doing an effective job of teaching understanding nor of developing skills.

In addition to the skills discussed under problem solving, one other skill needs to be discussed: reading. The American public emphasizes the importance of reading as a fundamental skill. In recent years this emphasis has taken on some of the aspects of a mass neurosis. Schools are condemned because they don't teach reading. Parents worry, put undue pressure on children, and

cause emotional disturbances because they are afraid their children are not reading well. Most of this undue anxiety about reading is actually damaging to children.

Acquiring the ability to read in our type of society seems to be a natural part of growing up. Some children learn to read at the age of six, a few learn to read earlier, others do not learn to read until they are older. If parents and teachers could relax, decrease the pressure to teach reading, and let reading become a natural part of the growth of children, many of the maladjustments of children could be avoided and more children would read better. Some of the difficulties of early adolescents which were observed in the Study seemed to originate from undue emphasis on reading in the early grades.[1]

The Study did, however, gather some data on the reading ability of the pupils. The Iowa Silent Reading Test was given to students in three elementary schools and two intermediate schools as a part of the annual Study testing program in May, 1947.[2] Earlier in the school year (February, 1947), the *Stanford Reading Test* had been given to these same pupils as part of a city-wide survey of reading.[3] A total of 301 students took both of the tests; the data are presented in Table 20.

Although there are differences in the test scores for each school, the following generalizations from the original data can be made: First, schools differ in the extent of their acceleration or retardation. Second, schools in lower-economic areas have more poor readers, although they probably are doing adequately in terms of the ability levels of their pupils and the neighborhood environment. Third, girls read better than boys. (The data on the Iowa Test showed that on both reading comprehension and vocabulary girls did better than boys, except in one school where boys were

[1] For a discussion of reading inadequacies, see Yearbook Committee, William S. Gray, Chairman, *Reading in the High School and College,* Part II of the *Forty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 42–45.

[2] H. F. Spitzer and others, *Iowa Every-pupil Tests Of Basic Skills, Test A: Silent Reading Comprehension — Form O* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943).

[3] Truman S. Kelley and others, *Stanford Reading Test* (Yonkers: World Book Co., 1941).

TABLE 20

MEDIAN SCORES AND GRADE LEVELS
ON THE STANFORD AND THE IOWA READING TESTS
OF 301 8A STUDENTS IN FIVE SCHOOLS [1]

School	Number of Students	Stanford		Iowa	
		Score	Grade Level	Score	Grade Level
A	88	70.36	9.7	90.00	8.9
B	49	67.75	8.9	78.33	7.9
C	36	61.50	7.6	70.00	7.3
D	71	70.87	9.9	74.09	7.5
E	57	58.77	7.1	56.33	6.3
Total	301	67.10	8.8	76.30	7.7

better in vocabulary.) Fourth, the range in reading ability of these pupils is very great; some pupils are exceptionally good readers and some are very poor readers.

CAUSES OF DIFFERENCES IN LEARNING

The teachers, principals, and the Study Staff wish that all these pupils could know more, could use their knowledge better, and could read and perform other skills better. They do not depreciate the value of knowledge, understanding, and skills. As in probably all generations of teachers, they, too, wish that their pupils did better on tests. Why is it, when teachers have done their very best, that pupils learn so little? There have been many discussions of the causes of differences in learning. The data presented in this and earlier chapters show the following to be factors in learning variations:

1. Native intelligence: The brighter learn more than the dull.
2. Sex: Boys do better than girls on social studies information. Girls tend to read better.

[1] Adapted from Elmer F. Pflieger, "A Study of Reading Grade Levels," *Journal of Educational Research,* XLII (1948), 541–46.

3. Maturity level: The higher the grade level, the older the pupils, the more learning has taken place.
4. Neighborhood environment: Students from the higher-economic levels seem to learn more than do students from the lower-economic levels.
5. Emotional adjustment: As pupils develop better emotional adjustment, their learning tends to improve. Conversely, as frustrations increase, the quality of learning deteriorates.
6. Experience: The failure to provide sufficient direct experience causes difficulties in learning.
7. Teaching materials: The failure to provide adequate teaching materials is another cause of learning differences.

These latter two causes of differences in learning product have not been discussed and deserve special attention by those striving to improve citizenship education programs.

Most of the tests described in this chapter required learning of highly abstract material. Pupils had not had opportunities to handle, smell, play with, manipulate, or live with most of the generalizations taught in history, government, or economics classes. They did not have concrete, vivid, actual experience upon which to build their learnings. Has the school helped to supply this experience?

To get data on this question the Study developed a questionnaire which obtained information on the places in Detroit visited by pupils at different grade levels. Sixty-seven places were listed in this questionnaire. Pupils were asked to check the places which they had visited at any time during their lives and to designate whether they had visited the places with a school group, with some organizations not connected with school (church, scout, club, and so forth), with parents or friends, or on their own. The questionnaire was given to a one-third stratified city-wide sample at the 6A, 9A, and 12A grades. Table 21 shows some of the results.

From the results of this survey it appears that isolation from direct experience is a real threat in large cities. Pupils, in some cases, seem to live in relatively isolated neighborhoods and do not visit

TABLE 21 [1]

PER CENT OF PUPILS HAVING VISITED SELECTED PLACES IN DETROIT DECEMBER, 1948

Place	Grade		
	6A	9A	12A
City Hall	42	50	60
City Council	3	3	5
Wayne County Building	10	20	30
Courtroom During a Trial	10	21	29
Downtown Police Headquarters	23	30	54
Automobile Factory	42	43	48
Newspaper Office	26	29	38
Telephone Company	24	36	43
Radio Station	47	48	56
Union Produce Terminal	10	15	23
Symphony Orchestra	53	67	49
Detroit Tiger Baseball Game	63	76	83
Detroit Zoo	89	87	91
Art Institute	63	67	75
A Downtown Movie	83	90	95
A Community or Settlement House	21	23	26
A Railroad Station	69	78	82
An Airport	69	78	84
A Farm	84	84	87
A Bakery	60	69	65

many significant places in the city. Although these pupils had been handicapped because of the curtailment of transportation during the war years, one wonders how the pupils in the chief automobile production center of the world can understand labor-management problems if half of the high-school graduates have never visited an automobile factory.

From this survey it was concluded that some schools are not making use of neighborhood facilities for direct experiences.

[1] Adapted from Miller R. Collings, "Exploring Your Community: A Direct Experience Study," *Journal of Educational Research,* XLIV (1950), 228–229, with the approval of the editor of the *Journal.*

Schools are not providing direct experiences which acquaint pupils with the governmental or economic life in Detroit. Most direct experiences are being provided by parents. As schools learn to extend their walls out into the entire community, the quality of pupil learning may be expected to improve.

Teachers placed great emphasis on one other cause of learning differences: the inadequacy of supplies and instructional equipment. The Study, initiated during World War II and conducted in the years following the war, worked with schools that did not have movie projectors, sufficient books or maps, or adequate supplies of paper, paints, or crayons. During the war years, which followed depression years, it was extremely difficult to buy supplies because of war shortages. As a consequence, when the Study started in 1945 the schools were inordinately low in the possession of many kinds of equipment, supplies, and instructional materials.

It was quite natural, therefore, that when teachers were asked, "How would you spend funds from the Study to make better citizens?" for them to reply, "Give us furniture, lumber, paint, duplicators. Give us paper and crayons. Give us movie projectors, tools, pictures, maps, new books. Give us paper and crayons! Give us films, recordings, tests, loud speaker equipment, magazines, pamphlets. Give us paper and crayons! Give us art supplies!"

The experiences in attempting to meet these essential requirements are worthy of special note. Research workers in education are prone to emphasize test results and norms. Table 22 shows results of a different type, based on the experiences with Study expenditures. The eight participating schools were granted special funds from the Foundation grant to improve their school citizenship programs. This table shows how they spent these funds. In general, after the first year of the Study, schools established teacher-finance committees to review requests from teachers for expenditures. During the first year of the Study, all requests were approved and purchased through the central offices of the Study. The teacher-committee system for handling purchases was much superior to the centralized system. Schools were able to get exactly what they wanted and adequate accounting was obtained.

TABLE 22

EXPENDITURES OF STUDY FUNDS BY EIGHT SCHOOLS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION, 1945–1949

Item	Amount
1. Furniture and Equipment	$ 3,054.08
2. Visual and Auditory Equipment	4,018.91
3. Films and Recordings	266.83
4. Instructional Supplies	2,912.95
5. Art Supplies	2,146.26
6. Office Supplies	749.36
7. Books, Magazines, and Pamphlets	10,380.10
8. School Trips for Pupils	1,040.33
9. Travel by Faculty	2,337.44
10. Consultants	446.62
11. Substitute Teachers	9,710.10
12. Dinners and Teas	5,027.04
Total	$42,090.02

What does Table 22 mean? It means that schools wishing to improve their citizenship programs will need to spend money for equipment and supplies (items 1-6), for a great variety of reading materials (item 7), for stimulating new ideas (items 9 and 10),[1] and for providing time when teachers can meet together to plan improvements (items 11 and 12).

The differences in learning among pupils are related to the failure to provide adequate financial support for schools just as they are to the failure to provide sufficient direct experiences for pupils or the failure to provide an environment conducive to good emotional adjustment.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The knowledge of current affairs possessed by the pupils tested by the Study was meager. The general level of public interest seemed to be the most important factor in the amount of

[1] The Study spent $6,338.02 for consultant service. Most of this service was financed by the central office and does not appear in Table 22 as a school expenditure.

current-events knowledge retained by pupils. The teaching of current events in the schools was inadequate and should receive more attention. All schools need to be regular users of school current-events papers as well as other sources of current information.

2. Pupils' knowledge of American history and government was developing satisfactorily. Adequate evidence on the teaching of economics was not available, but what was available indicated that satisfactory teaching was being done. Some schools may be stressing acquisition of facts to too great an extent, failing to stress other important types of learning.

3. Understanding of information seems to be taught less well than factual learning. Giving pupils experience in using information is one important way to improve citizenship education.

4. As a group, pupils were reading satisfactorily. Acquisition of reading ability follows definite child-growth patterns. Failure to abide by these natural patterns results in maladjustments leading to serious behavior problems. In the opinion of the Staff an undue emphasis on getting all pupils to read to a predetermined standard may be a serious cause of poor citizenship.

5. Boys do better than girls on most tests of political, social, or economic information. Textbook writers and teachers need to consider seriously whether the materials of the social studies are directed too much at a man's world. By a different choice of methods, illustrations, anecdotes, or emphases, it may be possible to encourage more girls to be interested in civic affairs.

6. Children in large cities seem to grow up in relatively isolated neighborhoods. Many children have not had direct experience with important community activities and agencies. Schools need to assist pupils to gain these experiences. Just as schools in recent years have provided free textbooks, it may become advisable to supply free transportation for visits to key places in the city.

7. Schools desiring to improve their citizenship programs will need to be provided with sufficient funds so that adequate supplies and equipment may be available. Programs to carry on the continuous education of teachers will also require money for consultants and money to purchase time for teachers to meet together.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Quality of Citizenship: Evaluation

> There is need . . . for more adequate sources of evidence than are now available; evidence concerning such things as the permanency of changes effected, the out-of-school behavior of boys and girls, the transfer of school behavior patterns to out-of-school situations.[1]

CAN SCHOOLS DEVELOP better citizens than they have in the past? The Citizenship Education Study was designed to seek an answer to this fundamental question.

From the beginning the Staff realized that obtaining evidence on the citizenship qualities of the students in participating schools would be a difficult undertaking. The quality of citizenship of even one individual is difficult to evaluate. The forces influencing the citizenship of a boy or girl are so numerous that one cannot with certainty say that a particular action resulted in a specific behavior. Since each year more than 12,000 pupils and 300 teachers were involved in the Study, the task of gathering evidence on citizenship qualities frequently seemed hopeless. The Staff constantly asked: How will our procedures affect citizenship qualities? Can we verify the effects of our efforts? Is one justified in expending large sums of money if rigorous scientific measures of citizenship qualities are not available?

To answer such questions would require a lengthy discussion of the scientific method, the nature of the social sciences, and, more particularly, of educational research. In these areas there is much difference of opinion, for there can be many points of view concerning research in which human beings are subjects.

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study*, p. 14.

A POINT OF VIEW

One conviction of the Study Staff was that too much social science research has been of a piecemeal variety. The concept of the experimental-control techniques, borrowed from the exact sciences, has induced many research workers to deal with minute pieces of a total process until the totality of the process has been missed completely. In research dealing with educational problems, for example, there has been much teacher skepticism because good teachers sensed that some research had not really considered some very important variables.

It seemed, as the Study began, that an attempt to examine carefully the total functioning of a school might yield results which would give new insights into ways of improving the quality of citizenship. As the Study progressed, this conviction of the importance of the total educational process grew. At the end of the Study, the Staff felt sure that such intangibles as the relation of a principal to teachers, the general morale of teachers, the ways in which teachers cooperated, and the affectional relationship of teachers to pupils were of far greater importance than has been generally recognized in educational research. Yet, we cannot prove these beliefs scientifically by controlled experiments; in these areas the social scientist must rely on intelligent observation as a chief means of progress. Experiments have an important place, but at this stage of knowledge, research that is concerned with a total process, in which all participants can have a share and that depends for evidence chiefly on observation and report, also has an important place.

The cooperative procedures employed in the Study were planned to aid in getting careful observation and accurate reporting. They were not based solely on a blind faith nor were they merely fortuitous. They were designed to enable the Staff to get as complete a picture of the total educational process as was humanly possible with the available resources. They were used with the expectation that each Staff member would be accepted as a useful, working member of a participating school. It was hoped

that Staff members, by keeping careful, detailed, descriptive accounts of observations in schools, would have a good picture of the total educational process in the schools. Such observations and reports represent the first step in any scientific approach to educational problems. There was no effort to use any type of controlled experiment in the evaluation of the total functioning of the participating schools.

The work of Elton Mayo, F. J. Roethlisberger, and others at the Harvard Business School has demonstrated the usefulness of this approach in American business. From their studies of industry they concluded that "the essential groundwork of collecting facts and the systematic search for simple uniformities among them in a variety of situations have not as yet gone very far." [1]

In our opinion the development of this "essential groundwork" for educational research has not gone as far as in industry and requires three essential steps for those concerned with evaluating the educational product:

1. An intimate factual experience of what goes on in a given school.
2. An analysis of the simple uniformities or common elements that arise out of this experience.
3. A statement of a simple question or hypothesis that can be affirmed or denied through available data.

A good description of this method is supplied by paraphrasing Roethlisberger in the following quotation. The words *teacher, pupil,* and *school* have been substituted for such words as *employee* and *shop.*

> The development of such a skill would require, first, hard, persistent, intelligent, responsible unremitting labor in the *schools* among *teachers and pupils* at the *school* level, not in an office on the top floor. Only in this way can be obtained an intimate, habitual, intuitive familiarity with the way *teachers and pupils* behave — not how they "ought to" behave or are

[1] F. J. Roethlisberger, *Management and Morale* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, copyright, 1941 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College), p. 177.

> represented as behaving by those on the top floor. The second element in the development of the skill would require a careful search for simple uniformities which may appear among the facts that are collected and roughly classified. The third step in the development of the skill would be to construct a simple way of thinking about individuals and their relations to one another in a *school* organization. This way of thinking would be a modest affair which would help in obtaining more facts and in making practice more effective.[1]

The Staff members were expected to become an intimate part of the school; our goal was to be accepted as fellow teachers — not as outsiders. They were expected to be accurate, insightful observers and faithful recorders. They were expected to be democratic, cooperative, not authoritarian. No one of us measured up to all these ideal qualifications; but no one of us failed completely, either. As a result of our experiences, we think we have obtained an intimate factual experience of what goes on in a given school. In our reports we are trying to analyze the simple uniformities that arise out of this experience and to answer the resultant questions with the available data. Much of this data is descriptive, anecdotal, or based on opinion. Some of it is more objective and factual. This chapter attempts to bring these data together in a way which may assist others to evaluate their citizenship programs.

DID THE SCHOOLS CHANGE?

The evaluation program of the Study sought answers to two questions: 1) Did the procedures employed by the Study bring about changes in the citizenship education programs of the participating schools? 2) Did the changes result in a better quality of citizenship of boys and girls?

The answer to the first question is definitely in the affirmative. The evidence is clear that the procedures employed did bring changes in the philosophy, organization, methods, and materials of the schools. The answer to the second question is that we think

[1] Adapted from *ibid.*, p. 117; reprinted by permission of the publishers.

the changes improved the citizenship of the boys and girls, but adequate objective evidence does not exist. The available evidence on citizenship qualities is presented later in this chapter. The evidence on school changes will be described briefly at this point.

The primary objective of the Study was to bring about improved programs of citizenship education in the participating schools through the use of cooperative procedures. These procedures, concisely stated, consisted of Staff members joining with faculties, students, and parents on a cooperative basis to work together for improved citizenship programs.

The evidence that these procedures brought about change is so overwhelming that it need not be carefully documented in this summary report. The changes have been described in some detail in other places.[1] Some of the changes are:

1. Many teachers became more understanding of the emotional problems of children and more expert in their treatment of such problems.

2. Five of the schools which had not previously had an organized relationship with parents developed such a relationship. One school had previously established such a relationship. Two schools did not develop a regular program with parents.

3. The use of visual and auditory materials was increased. More visits to places outside the school building developed. A greater variety of reading materials was employed.

4. Faculty meetings increased in number and length. The character of faculty meetings changed in that more time was given to a consideration of curriculum problems and less to administrative routine.

[1] Arnold R. Meier, Florence D. Cleary, Alice M. Davis, *A Curriculum for Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952); Elmer F. Pflieger and Grace L. Weston, *Emotional Adjustment: A Key to Good Citizenship* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1953); Arnold Meier, "A Study of a Work-Group-Conference Method for Producing Curriculum Change" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne University, 1950); Elmer F. Pflieger, "A Critical Analysis of a Consultative-Cooperative Method Designed to Produce Curriculum Change for Improved Citizenship" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne University, 1950).

5. Three of the four elementary schools tried some variation in the traditional platoon organization of the Detroit elementary schools.

6. Each of the four secondary schools tried some form of a general education or core curriculum.

7. Increased time and effort were devoted to teaching an understanding of democracy.

8. Student councils were established, reorganized, or improved in accordance with the situation in each school.

9. In some schools a more harmonious relationship was established between principal and teachers.

10. The relationship with other neighborhood youth-serving agencies became more cooperative.

11. Faculty steering committees were organized to provide teachers with a share in the determination of school policy on curriculum problems.

12. Increased attention was given to problem-solving procedures, discussion techniques, and other aspects of critical thinking.

13. Activities in which pupils render service to others increased in scope and effectiveness.

14. Guidance became a central concern in all schools. The school organization, the homeroom periods, and the role of specialists were modified.

The evidence for these changes was obtained from three sources: logs written by Staff members; questionnaires answered by principals, teachers, and students; and interviews with principals, teachers, and students.

While these changes were in no sense revolutionary, and may not seem to those who are not well acquainted with the philosophy of the Study to affect directly the citizenship program, the procedures employed brought modifications in each school. Some schools changed very greatly; others changed only slightly. None changed as much as was needed in terms of the problems encountered. All change was slowed because of the inevitable necessity of getting many people to go along with ideas that sometimes

seemed unusual or different. The procedures, however, did bring changes.

Those interested in changing citizenship education programs can be confident from the evidence of the Study that the cooperative procedures will gradually but surely bring needed modifications in the school program. The procedures enabled the schools to move ahead intelligently and democratically.

WERE BETTER CITIZENS DEVELOPED?

Most persons interested in citizenship education want to know whether or not new methods bring about significant changes in the behavior of students who are exposed to those methods. The quest for this evidence is highly desirable, but difficult. Adequate appraisal of the citizenship of any individual, for example, would require a life-long research program; even this research might be futile because of the inability to determine causative factors among the numerous influences on a person's life.

Because of these complexities, present school citizenship practices are for the most part based on the best judgments of responsible educators. In recent years tests, opinions, and surveys have been employed to verify these judgments, but the weaknesses of these objective devices as measures of ultimate civic behavior are well known. At best they represent only one step in a search for objective measures of the products of today's schools.

In our present state of knowledge about human beings and about teaching processes, it seems fairly evident that not very much can be proved in the strict experimental interpretation of the word *proof*. The absence of well-defined experimental conditions within schools and the unmeasured significance of factors outside the school prevent getting adequate data.

Recognizing these difficulties and the complexity of the task, the Study Staff attempted to get the best evidence possible. As the months and years went by, however, it became apparent that some participants became primarily interested in getting changes in schools and felt that careful searching for objective evidence was a waste of time, energy, and resources. Their position might well

be summarized as a belief that certain educational practices had become so widespread and had achieved such general social acceptance that it was high time the participating schools made use of them.

Other participants became discouraged with the futility of gathering evidence. Data sometimes seemed out of line with common sense; the variables were numerous and complex; the evaluation procedures and instruments were inadequate.

In spite of these very human reactions, the evaluation program was carried forward as an essential, integral part of the Study. This program consisted of four parts: an annual testing program; specific research projects; judgments of teachers and Staff members; and collection of community data.

THE ANNUAL TESTING PROGRAM

The formulation of the five qualities of the good citizen, which have been discussed in preceding chapters, required an attempt to determine the initial status and subsequent growth in each of the qualities. These qualities are generalized descriptions with many interrelated factors for which existing measuring instruments and techniques were inadequate. It was assumed, however, that it might be possible to show gains or losses in some aspects of these qualities by making a comparison on paper and pencil tests between successive June graduating groups in each school. The assumption was made that each graduating class had lived in the same school neighborhood and that, in general, the social background would be similar to that of the previous graduating classes.

Tables 23 and 24 show the results of this annual testing program for the quality of citizenship which has been designated as emotional adjustment. On the *California Test of Personality,*[1] four schools showed gains in total scores from 1946 to 1949 (Schools E-1, E-3, I-1, I-2); two schools showed losses (Schools E-2, E-4); and two schools remained about the same (Schools H1, H-2). One of the schools showing a loss was believed by the Staff to have been

[1] Willis W. Clark, and others, *California Test of Personality* (Los Angeles: California Test Bureau, 1942).

TABLE 23

MEDIAN SCORES—CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY

JUNE GRADUATES 1946–49

EIGHT SCHOOLS *

Year	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2
	N-115	N-55	N-35	N-112	N-287	N-546	N-246	N-421
1946	102.19	139.00	120.50	134.92	126.01	125.74	137.93	144.94
1947	108.78	133.77	124.55	131.75	—	—	134.00	142.25
1948	114.15	124.25	119.75	139.01	121.93	134.17	131.14	143.40
1949	107.19	135.50	130.72	127.46	130.95	132.49	137.71	144.89
Gains, Losses								
1946–49	+5.00	—3.50	+10.22	—7.46	+4.94	+6.75	— .22	— .05

* The N is an average of the number of graduates for each year, which will give a general idea of the size of the graduating classes.

TABLE 24

MEDIAN NUMBER OF PROBLEMS CHECKED—MOONEY PROBLEM CHECK LIST
JUNE GRADUATES 1945–49
EIGHT SCHOOLS

Year	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2
1945	—	—	—	15.24	29.35	18.85	20.67	17.21
1946	—	13.55	20.41	14.62	25.67	23.63	30.65	23.50
1947	—	14.50	24.50	16.56	17.47	17.08	33.71	27.60
1948	—	13.78	25.50	20.05	19.25	15.20	26.25	15.48
1949	—	9.10	32.50	16.81	16.82	18.90	30.29	26.10
Gain or Loss								
1945–49	—	—	—	+1.57	−12.53	+ .05	+9.62	+8.89
1946–49	—	−4.45	+12.09	+2.19	− 8.85	−4.73	− .36	+2.60

quite effective in the improvement of the school's guidance program.

Table 24 shows similar results based on the Mooney *Problem Check List*.[1] Here a small number of items checked was assumed to indicate better emotional adjustment. This assumption clearly may not be true. It may be that recognition of problems is the first step in their solution and that greater permissiveness in a school might induce increased admission of problems. In only one school (I-1) did the problems checked decrease over the 1945–49 period and in only three schools E-2, I-1, I-2) was there a decrease over the 1946–49 period. The number of problems increased in two schools (H-1, H-2) from 1945 to 1949 and remained about the same in two other schools (E-4, I-2). From 1946 to 1949, there was a large increase in one school (E-3), small increases in two schools (E-4, H-2), and one school (H-1) remained practically the same.

There are great difficulties in the interpretation of these results. The 1945 graduating classes of the secondary schools were not comparable to later graduating classes because some boys in the intermediate schools and a considerable number from the high schools were in military service or defense work. The number in the graduating classes, too, complicates interpretation. The smallest graduating class had twenty-six pupils; the largest class had 610 pupils. In general, the secondary school graduating classes were large, and the elementary ones were much smaller.

Another important factor to consider is that emotional adjustment, as measured by these tests, is probably influenced greatly by the teacher or teachers the pupil is having the semester the test is given. For example, Staff members feel that a "poor" teacher who had the pupils during their final semester in the school, could destroy much of the good work in emotional adjustment which had been done by other teachers, and that an especially skilled and understanding teacher could aid pupils who had been neglected by earlier teachers.

[1] Ross L. Mooney, *The Problem Check List* (Columbus: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1942; now issued by The Psychological Corporation, New York).

From the evidence in Tables 23 and 24, no conclusions seem warranted concerning the effects of changes in the citizenship programs on the emotional adjustment of pupils. Over the years of the Study, it is not possible to show by results of the June testing that the changes brought about by the Study had any consistent influence on the emotional adjustment of pupils. Against this evidence must be balanced (1) the opinion of Staff members and teachers that the chief contribution of the Study was that teachers became more sensitive to, and skillful in dealing with, problems of emotional adjustment, and (2) the results from specific projects, reported later, which showed improvements in emotional adjustment.

Problem solving, or critical thinking, was another quality for which tests were given each June. The comparative results over the five-year period are shown in Tables 25 and 26 for the *Iowa Every-pupil Test, the Iowa Tests of Educational Development,* the *National Achievement Social Studies Test,* the *Cooperative Social Studies Test,* and the *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities.*[1] Again there are no consistent results. School E-1, which showed a gain on one test, remained about the same on the other test. Schools E-2, E-4, and I-2 showed losses on each test. School E-3 was about the same on one test and was poorer on the other test. School I-1 showed losses in three of the four comparisons. The two high schools showed two gains and three negligible losses. The general pattern is one of unreliability with a tendency for losses to be greater than gains.

Democratic attitudes were another quality measured by the annual testing program. These results were discussed in Chapter IV in connection with the influence of cultural environment. The

[1] H. F. Spitzer and others, *Iowa Every-pupil Tests of Basic Skills* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943); Kenneth W. Vaughn and others, *The Iowa Tests of Educational Development* (Iowa City: State University of Iowa and Science Research Associates, 1948); Robert K. Speer, *National Achievement Social Studies Test* (Rockville Centre, N. Y.: Acorn Publishing Co., 1945); Mary Willis and others, *Cooperative Social Studies Test* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1942); J. Wayne Wrightstone and others, *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities* (New York: Cooperative Test Service, 1939).

conclusion was reached that the attitudes of the pupils did not change appreciably from one year to another.

Because of the great concern over reading ability, tests of reading were included in the annual testing program. The results are presented in Table 27. In general, although losses were predominate, the variations from one class to another were not large enough to warrant conclusions concerning the reading ability of the pupils.

The assumption was made in giving these tests annually to graduates that the effects of curriculum changes would be reflected in the group results. From the data it seems that this assumption was not warranted. The fact that many Study projects did not affect the later graduating classes directly, and the inconsistencies among schools that were more active in the Study and those that were less active require unusual wariness in the interpretation of these test results.

SPECIFIC RESEARCH PROJECTS

Another approach to the problem of measuring citizenship qualities through tests was used with some special projects. In some of these projects, it was assumed that if a given group of pupils were tested at one time and then the same pupils were tested at later intervals, the differences would reflect the growth in certain abilities. This procedure required initial testing as pupils came to a school or a class, and testing again at the end of a year or at some other interval, and introduces the hazard that changes may be due to maturation and not to changed practice.

In one of these projects, an entering tenth-grade high-school class was tested in September, 1945, and again in May, 1948, just before graduation. The data for the approximately 300 students who had been in school for both testing programs are shown in Table 28.

From this table it appears that steady growth was shown by these students. (The tests were also given in February, 1946, at the end of three semesters. To simplify the table, these data were not included, but they confirm the regular growth exhibited by the students.) Apparently students attending this high school for three

TABLE 25

MEDIAN SCORES—WORK-STUDY SKILLS *

JUNE GRADUATES 1945–49

EIGHT SCHOOLS

Year	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2
1945	44.07	70.85	55.75	76.53	64.50	66.93	—	—
1946	39.36	68.66	53.94	71.50	57.92	64.09	14.99	15.64
1947	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1948	33.94	67.00	53.07	73.61	55.05	65.53	13.69	16.02
1949	48.81	62.00	55.13	67.19	58.61	60.26	14.79	14.82
Gains-Losses								
1945–49	+4.74	−8.85	− .62	−9.34	−5.89	−6.67	—	—
1946–49	+9.45	−6.66	+1.19	−4.31	+ .69	−3.83	− .20	− .82

* Elementary schools E-1 to E-4 and intermediate schools I-1 and I-2: *Iowa Every-pupil, Test B, Form O.* High schools H-1 and H-2: *Iowa Tests of Educational Development, Test IX: Sources of Information.*

TABLE 26

MEDIAN SCORES—TESTS OF SOCIAL STUDIES ABILITIES *

JUNE GRADUATES 1945–49

EIGHT SCHOOLS

Year	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2
1945	—	47.60	42.30	51.63	45.90	48.68	81.25	94.25
1946	44.10	45.86	39.50	48.85	43.70	44.79	—	89.72
1947	43.51	48.25	—	—	50.01	—	—	—
1948	42.72	45.05	41.58	46.89	39.68	47.22	86.16	80.92
1949	43.67	44.50	35.06	45.93	40.97	42.64	88.70	93.50
Gains-Losses								
1945–49	—	—3.10	—7.24	—5.70	—4.93	—6.04	+7.45	— .75
1946–49	— .43	—1.36	—4.44	—2.92	—2.73	—2.15	—	+3.78

* School E-1: *National Achievement Social Studies Test.*
Elementary schools E-2 to E-4, and intermediate schools I-1 and I-2: *Cooperative Social Studies Test, Form S.*
High Schools H-1 and H-2: *Cooperative Test of Social Studies Abilities, Form Q.*

TABLE 27—PART I

MEDIAN SCORES—TEST OF READING COMPREHENSION *

JUNE GRADUATES 1945–49

EIGHT SCHOOLS

Year	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2
1945	—	—	38.50	50.35	42.78	43.65	—	—
1946	27.28	47.00	37.50	48.50	38.50	41.60	15.60	15.75
1947	27.00	43.25	36.00	47.78	—	—	—	—
1948	25.47	47.62	25.33	47.90	33.75	42.08	14.77	16.55
1949	28.28	40.50	34.83	45.57	38.41	40.10	15.65	15.40
Gains-Losses								
1945–49	—	—	—3.67	—4.78	—4.37	—3.55	—	—
1946–49	+1.00	—6.50	—2.67	—2.93	— .09	—1.50	+ .05	+ .35

* Elementary schools E-1 to E-4 and intermediate schools I-1 and I-2: *Iowa Every-pupil Test A, Form O, Part I: Silent Reading.* High schools H-1 and H-2: *Iowa Test of Educational Development, Part V: Interpreting Reading Ability in the Social Studies.*

TABLE 27—PART II

MEDIAN SCORES—TEST OF READING VOCABULARY *

JUNE GRADUATES 1945–49

EIGHT SCHOOLS

Year	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2
1945	—	—	33.30	42.42	35.69	39.15	—	—
1946	20.70	40.33	27.00	40.61	34.18	36.58	16.99	17.97
1947	20.15	35.09	31.42	41.43	—	—	—	—
1948	20.98	38.25	27.19	41.40	30.73	37.51	15.92	17.66
1949	21.61	37.91	27.50	40.20	32.73	35.02	16.37	17.03
Gains-Losses								
1945–49	—	—	—5.80	—2.22	—2.96	—4.13	—	—
1946–49	+ .91	—2.42	+ .50	— .41	—1.45	—1.56	— .62	— .96

* Elementary schools E-1 to E-4 and intermediate schools I-1 and I-2: *Iowa Every-pupil, Test A, Form O, Part II: Silent Reading.* High schools H-1 and H-2: *Iowa Tests of Educational Development, Test I: Basic Social Concepts.*

years improved in emotional adjustment, in democratic attitudes, and in educational development. The May, 1948 data for these students have already been reported in Tables 23 to 27 together with the results for other graduates who either missed the initial test because of absence or were transferred to the school between 1945 and 1948. The data in Table 28 show that one needs to be extremely cautious in concluding from the data of these earlier tables that pupils were not doing satisfactory work. Based on growth data, this high school may have been doing quite well. On the other hand, there is no information to show if this improvement was the result of maturation.

TABLE 28

CHANGES IN MEDIAN TEST SCORES BY STUDENTS OF ONE HIGH SCHOOL

Test	Sept., 1945	May, 1948	Growth
California Test of Personality Total Adjustments	133.25	144.96	11.71
Collyer Test of Democratic Attitudes	159.26	173.20	13.94
Iowa Tests of Educational Development			
Test I: Social Concepts	13.05	17.80	4.75
Test V: Reading-Social Studies	13.67	16.49	2.82
Test IX: Sources of Information....	9.80	15.77	5.97

In another project, entering tenth-grade classes were tested in two schools in September, 1948 and again in May, 1949. In this project, in addition to initial and final testing, the experimental group was compared with a control group in a different school. In the experimental school, a general education program was developed by which students remained with the same teacher for a double period and did not follow strict departmental lines. The results are shown in Tables 29 and 30. While both schools made

similar gains in achievement (Table 30), only the experimental school showed improvement in adjustment (Table 29).[1]

TABLE 29

INITIAL AND FINAL MEAN SCORES IN TOTAL ADJUSTMENT

California Test of Personality

TENTH GRADE PUPILS AT TWO DETROIT HIGH SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER, 1948, AND MAY, 1949

School	Cases*	Initial	Final	Gain
Experimental	268	137.05	139.65	2.60
Control	206	129.60	129.74	.14

* The experimental school had 95 boys and 173 girls. The control school had 97 boys and 109 girls. The results showed no significant sex differences.

Similar projects were undertaken at other grade levels with similar results. Pupils tested initially at the first grade in reading showed consistent growth when tested in the second and third grades. Pupils tested at the seventh grade with several tests showed improvement when tested again at the ninth grade. This general pattern of improvement between initial and final tests was true of all special projects where this procedure was employed, with one exception—an exploratory study in American history where no improvement was measured from the beginning of the year to the end of the year.

From this experience it appears that initial and final testing was a useful testing pattern. Certain variables were eliminated, and the results seemed to be helpful. The missing factor of maturation might be controlled if the learning increment of one class over a three-year period of time could be compared with successive increments attained by other classes.

[1] For the details see Elmer Pflieger, *op. cit.*

TABLE 30

INITIAL AND FINAL MEAN GRADE LEVELS IN READING COMPREHENSION,

VOCABULARY, LANGUAGE USAGE, AND SPELLING

Stanford Achievement Test

TENTH GRADE PUPILS AT TWO DETROIT HIGH SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER, 1948, AND MAY, 1949

School	Cases*	Reading Comp.			Vocabulary			Lang. Usage			Spelling		
			F	G	I	F	G	I	F	G	I	F	G
Experimental	318	8.8	10.0	1.2	9.2	10.0	.8	8.0	8.6	.6	7.8	8.6	.8
Control	220	8.3	9.4	1.1	8.5	9.3	.8	7.8	8.6	.8	7.9	8.3	.4

* The experimental school had 125 boys and 193 girls. The control school had 105 boys and 115 girls. The results showed no significant sex differences.

JUDGMENTS OF TEACHERS AND STAFF MEMBERS

Throughout the Study, judgments of people were considered to be important sources of evidence. Sometimes these were deliberately solicited by questionnaires or interviews; sometimes they were recorded as anecdotes; occasionally they were the product of group discussions.

In range, the opinions vary greatly. In one school, an administrator stated, "The Study did my school no good; it didn't help a bit." But another administrator in the same school reported, "It would be difficult to describe adequately the improvement and changes in our school. Teachers have a better understanding of children . . . more children have developed self-discipline and a feeling of responsibility for others."

Just as there were variations within a school, there were also variations among the schools. Teachers in some schools were more friendly to the Study methods than in other schools. Progress does not come on a uniform front; personalities differ; and problems are greater in some schools than in others. Human beings working in the same situation see things differently.

In those projects where teachers kept classes for a full year or for a double period, most teachers felt reasonably sure that the citizenship qualities of the pupils had improved. Whether the citizenship had really improved or whether the teachers had become more sympathetic to the pupils' problems is not answerable.

In the participating schools as a whole, about 50 per cent of the teachers felt that the Study had brought about some improvement in citizenship; about 25 per cent were not sure whether significant changes had occurred, and another 25 per cent were convinced that the citizenship was poorer because of "that Study."

How should one view such evidence? There should be recognition that in human judgments there are honest differences of opinion. Sometimes, too, there is opposition to change resulting from very personal factors. Such factors include: not being able to teach a favorite subject, not being free to teach only bright students, or not being permitted to use disciplinary devices that have long been outmoded. The unusual prejudices must be recognized, too: the

administrator who honestly believes that student councils are on their way out, or the teacher who wants pupils always to be silent. All these types of persons are entitled to opinions. They should have opportunities to state opinions and to try to adjust conflicting opinions through group discussion.

The Study experience was that in each school the opinions of teachers could be trusted. Leadership always arose to develop a sound position; the thoughtful eventually brought the prejudiced into a working balance. In each school there were intelligent, resourceful, considerate, professionally-minded teachers. The Study gave these people a chance to make use of their abilities. With our present state of knowledge about citizenship education, the judgments of professionally-minded teachers deserve a high place in evaluation programs. The judgment of one group of teachers about the Study was expressed in their final report in these words:

> Participation in the Citizenship Education Study has been a rededication to our chosen profession, teaching. . . . We have experienced pleasure and satisfaction in noticing the definite interest and joy, in the mere presence in school, on the part of our children. We feel we have made some compensation for their lack of security and affection by our sympathetic understanding and whole-hearted acceptance of each child as a distinctive personality.

COLLECTION OF COMMUNITY DATA

One other type of data warrants consideration in the appraising of citizenship — data on police records, voting, broken street lights, breakage of window glass in school buildings, incidents of interracial conflict, contributions to charity, and other similar statistical information which reflects the level of citizenship in a community.

In 1939, E. L. Thorndike published a book, *Your City,* which attempts to measure "the goodness of life" in 310 American cities.[1] The thesis of this book is that life in some cities is superbly good, while life in other cities is bad. These differences in the quality of living are demonstrated statistically. Could the same proposition

[1] E. L. Thorndike, *Your City* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1939).

be applied to a school? Would a really good school make a measurable difference in the goodness of life in the neighborhood of the school? Put another way, if Jane Addams had been principal of a school in a slum area, would that school have shown an influence on the neighborhood comparable to the influence of Hull House?

This type of appraisal of a school's citizenship program raises mis-givings among many educators. One cannot trace a direct cause-and-effect relationship between what goes on in a school and the fact that a pupil is or is not arrested by the police. The windows broken in X School last night may have been caused by a gang that attends school three miles from X School. The broken street lights of a city may be traced more directly to the departures from a beer garden than from the effects of a program in a school. Yet, granting all the possibilities for error, perhaps schools could profit from knowing more about the quality of the living in their school neighborhoods.

Based on these ideas, the Study attempted to gather some data of this type for each of the participating schools. The attempt was a harassing, frustrating, expensive experience, as others who have attempted to gather similar social statistics have previously learned. Incomplete records, lack of comparability of data, differences in reporting, and inability to get information caused the elimination of data about interracial incidents, referrals to psychological and social welfare clinics, use of library, park, and recreational facilities, health records, and contributions to the community chest. The remaining available data are presented in the following tables with the hope that some day some others may succeed in determining the effect of the school on neighborhood environment.

Voting is usually considered to be an index of the quality of citizenship. Table 31-A shows the adult voting records for each participating school district for eight elections. The pattern for each school is similar to the pattern for the entire city. When interest is high, as in Presidential elections, more voters vote. When interest is low, as in spring elections for judges and Board of Education members, few citizens vote. The registration figures for June,

TABLE 31-A

NUMBER OF ADULT VOTERS—PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS

EIGHT TYPICAL ELECTIONS (1944–49)

Date	Type	Schools								Detroit Adults
		E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4	I-1	I-2	H-1	H-2	
11-7-44	Presidential	5,500	4,125	2,247	2,720	12,381	35,388	28,343	65,184	716,155
4-2-45	Judges, Bd. of Ed.	641	599	267	461	1,192	4,380	3,356	8,943	86,045
11-5-46	State offices	5,047	3,630	975	2,816	10,233	25,220	22,002	48,196	528,835
4-7-47	Judges, Bd. of Ed.	1,703	1,308	309	886	3,377	8,708	6,387	17,180	183,157
11-4-47	City offices	4,204	2,920	733	2,319	8,641	20,765	17,159	39,464	441,157
11-2-48	Presidential	6,192	4,851	1,331	3,405	10,582	32,028	29,327	60,686	693,273
4-4-49	Judges, Bd. of Ed.	1,620	2,043	344	1,499	2,796	11,481	8,691	21,152	244,994
11-8-49	City offices	4,495	3,832	866	2,875	7,713	23,855	20,948	44,500	529,554
6-12-48	Registration	6,527	4,658	1,496	3,594	14,187	34,207	29,664	66,300	744,212

1948 give a rough measure of the number of voters in each school district. This registration figure changes with each election. June, 1948, was listed because it was mid-way between the highest registration figure and the lowest one.

Table 31-B attempts to show the degree to which the adults in these school districts were exercising their franchise as compared with all the adults of the city and whether the influences of stressing citizenship in the eight schools caused a larger percentage of adults to vote. For each school, the number of times the percentage of voters to non-voters was higher or lower than the city average is shown for the five years before the Study and during the five years of the Study. In the areas around three schools (E-2, E-4, and H-1) more voters were participating during the years of the Study than in the years previous to the Study. The voters in three school districts (E-1, E-3, and I-1) participated less during the years of the Study. The voters of Schools I-2 and H-2 participated about the same amount. Knowing the characteristics of these neighborhoods and the differing nature of the Study activities carried on in the schools, it would be presumptuous to conclude that the Study had been successful in influencing adults in some areas to vote and had failed in other areas.

On the other hand, there seems to be some indication from one Study project that schools did influence adults to vote and that here is one sphere where citizenship activities in the school can influence neighborhood life.[1]

Police records were obtained for three years to learn the number of boys coming in contact with the police in the areas of the eight schools. (Information of this type was not kept for girls by the Detroit Police Department.) In some cases, the boys were immediately released by the police; in other more serious cases, where further investigation was warranted, the boys were detained. The results are shown in Table 32.

During these years there was a steady decline throughout the city in the police contacts with juvenile offenders. This decline

[1] Ralph Van Hoesen, "A Study of the Influence of Certain Specific School Activities on Adult Voting," *Journal of Educational Research*, XLII (1949), 332–42.

TABLE 31-B

PERCENTAGE OF CITY TOTAL VOTE OF EACH SCHOOL AREA COMPARED TO PERCENTAGE OF CITY TOTAL OF PREVIOUS REGISTRATION COUNT FOR THAT SCHOOL AREA

School	Fourteen Elections 1940–44		Sixteen Elections 1945–49	
	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower
E-1	14	0	11	5
E-2	8	6	15	1
E-3	1	13	0	16
E-4	8	6	15	1
I-1	9	5	6	10
I-2	4	10	6	10
H-1	3	11	8	8
H-2	2	12	4	12

TABLE 32

JUVENILE STATISTICS
BOYS UNDER 18, ATTENDING PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS, CONTACTED BY POLICE

School	1946		1947		1948	
	Detained	Not Detained	Detained	Not Detained	Detained	Not Detained
E-1	0	0	0	1	4	2
E-2	2	4	1	1	0	1
E-3	6	18	3	24	20	28
E-4	3	21	1	3	1	2
I-1	34	84	35	23	22	16
I-2	45	42	20	25	23	21
H-1	11	13	10	13	13	15
H-2	44	64	14	15	11	12
Total—8 Schools	145	246	84	105	94	97
Total—City	3,792	6,289	3,355	3,221	2,952	2,543

was true, also, in some Study schools, but Schools E-1, E-3, and H-1 showed an increase in 1948. It is not possible to draw valid conclusions from this table, but it is doubtful if the Study had any influence on the number of boys contacted by the police.

Street lights are traditional targets for destructive tendencies. The Public Lighting Commission in Detroit classifies breakage of light globes into two categories: willful breakage and accidental breakage. Within the boundaries of the eight participating schools, the number of lights willfully broken is shown in Table 33. It should be noted that the areas of the intermediate and high schools are very large and that in this and the other tables on community data comparisons between schools are not valid because of differences in enrollments and neighborhood environment.

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF STREET LIGHTS BROKEN WILLFULLY

EIGHT SCHOOLS, 1945–48

School	1945	1946	1947	1948
E-1	36	25	45	48
E-2	28	18	24	24
E-3	26	13	23	31
E-4	20	29	9	14
I-1	88	59	96	130
I-2	186	144	206	179
H-1	355	311	253	247
H-2	335	350	255	398
Total—Eight Schools	1,074	949	911	1,071
Total—City	10,325	7,340	6,377	7,022

School windows are broken periodically, too. Much of this breakage is accidental; some of it is probably willful, but it has not been possible to separate the two as was done with breakage of street lights. The record of broken windows in the eight schools is shown in Table 34. In four schools window breakage declined when compared with the years before the Study, but in the other four schools breakage increased. In the city total for all schools

TABLE 34

NUMBER OF SCHOOL WINDOWS BROKEN

EIGHT SCHOOLS, 1942–49 *

School	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	Average 1942–45	Average 1946–49
E-1	142	56	67	152	95	91	38	48	104	68
E-2	58	71	107	34	26	62	29	13	68	33
E-3	85	100	171	79	51	51	53	34	109	47
E-4	57	81	247	161	234	236	200	191	137	215
I-1	70	70	47	119	209	96	135	221	77	165
I-2	136	141	223	308	425	371	372	361	202	382
H-1	89	77	235	157	127	46	244	74	140	123
H-2	28	14	17	28	93	48	33	43	22	54
Total—Eight Schools	665	610	1,114	1,038	1,260	1,001	1,104	985	857	1,088
Total—City	13,304	16,300	18,318	21,284	19,451	19,113	17,928	18,802	17,302	18,824

* 1942–45—Fiscal year. 1946–49—Calendar year.

there was also a slight increase based on this same comparison.

The percentage of students leaving high school before graduation was assumed to be another measure that might reflect the quality of the citizenship program of the school. While economic circumstance is an important cause of leaving high school, the character of the school program may be more influential in holding pupils in school than is generally recognized. Table 35 shows an analysis of the drop-outs from five Detroit high schools. Schools H-1 and H-2 were participating schools of the Study. Schools H-3 and H-4 were in somewhat comparable neighborhoods. School H-5 is in a "superior" middle-class residential area. The data were obtained by comparing the size of the 10B class of a given year with the size of the same class five semesters later as 12A's. The resulting figure is not strictly an accurate index of drop-outs because transfers and new entries are not discounted; but for all practical purposes, this calculation is a good index of drop-outs.

TABLE 35

PERCENTAGE OF HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUTS BETWEEN 10B AND 12A GRADES FOR EIGHT GRADUATING CLASSES FROM FIVE HIGH SCHOOLS

Class	Schools				
	H-1	H-2	H-3	H-4	H-5
Jan. 1946	38	69	71	67	36
June 1946	33	51	62	42	19
Jan. 1947	44	54	73	57	34
June 1947	28	40	62	54	18
Jan. 1948	35	50	68	54	26
June 1948	27	43	58	40	21
Jan. 1949	55	50	74	62	32
June 1949	25	42	61	48	19

There is some indication that the holding power of the participating schools was increasing in the latter years of the Study and that a comparable condition was true in the other schools. Comparisons of 1946 with 1949 are favorable to the Study schools. School H-2 seems to have been most successful in increasing its

holding power. Still, it does not seem appropriate to conclude that the Study activities caused more students to remain in school—there are too many other operative factors.

From the community data presented above, it seems clear that the schools had little measurable influence on the various social factors discussed. Voting, police arrests, breakage of street lights or school windows and the length of time a pupil stays in school surely should over many, many years be influenced by the quality of education. Because these measures were not modified measurably during the four years of this Study should not discourage others from continuing to attempt to improve educational procedures. Eventually schools may be able to develop such powerful school programs that community life will be improved. Improving the goodness of life in a community is an important educational objective and one which schools have been successful in achieving when viewed from a larger historical perspective than was possible in the Study.

SOME INTERPRETATIONS OF THE DATA

In this chapter the conclusion has been reached that the procedures employed by the Study brought about changes in the school's citizenship programs. It has also been concluded that the effects of these changes upon the citizenship of the boys and girls cannot be demonstrated. The test and community data indicate little change; the judgment of the Staff and some participants is that improvement was gradually taking place.

How should these data be interpreted? It should be recognized that changes in the behavior of children over a span of a few years is quite slow. The educational increment from year to year is exceedingly small, but it is the constant addition of small increments that makes the difference in the education of a child. For the present, in changing citizenship education programs we have to rely upon the thoughtful educator who modifies his beliefs by such expressions as "To the best of my knowledge" or "It's probably a good idea" or "Why not try it; our previous methods have not been perfect."

From all the varied evidence the following alternative interpretations might be made concerning the values of the Study:

1. The procedures employed by the Study were desirable. Pupils were not doing significantly better or worse on most subject-matter tests at the end of the Study, but there seemed to be intangibles that were valuable. Some important things were being considered which are usually neglected in education. If the procedures could be carried on over a longer period of time with better resources, even measurable results might be obtained.
2. The procedures employed by the Study were desirable. They represent the best that is known in education. On the other hand, the Staff was not as competent as it should have been. If the right people had been conducting the Study, real progress could have been made.
3. The procedures used by the Study were simply wrong procedures. Good results could not be expected because the wrong things were attempted. The Study should have urged stricter discipline (or more freedom). The Study should have spent more time on politics (or economics or the teaching of democracy) and less time on understanding children. The project could have been worth while, but it traveled in the wrong directions and used impossible procedures.
4. The procedures were satisfactory and the Staff was reasonably competent, but the schools were caught in a social situation which prevented rapid change. Social institutions change slowly because the culture is always a brake on change.

Evidence to support each of these interpretations probably can be found in this report. One could find persons in Detroit to defend any one of these interpretations. Since the first three interpretations seem self-explanatory while the fourth is frequently neglected in discussions of educational theory, some brief comments will be made about it.

Early in the Study, the director spent an afternoon with the late Kurt Lewin, the distinguished student of group dynamics. After hearing a description of the general plan of the Study, Dr. Lewin

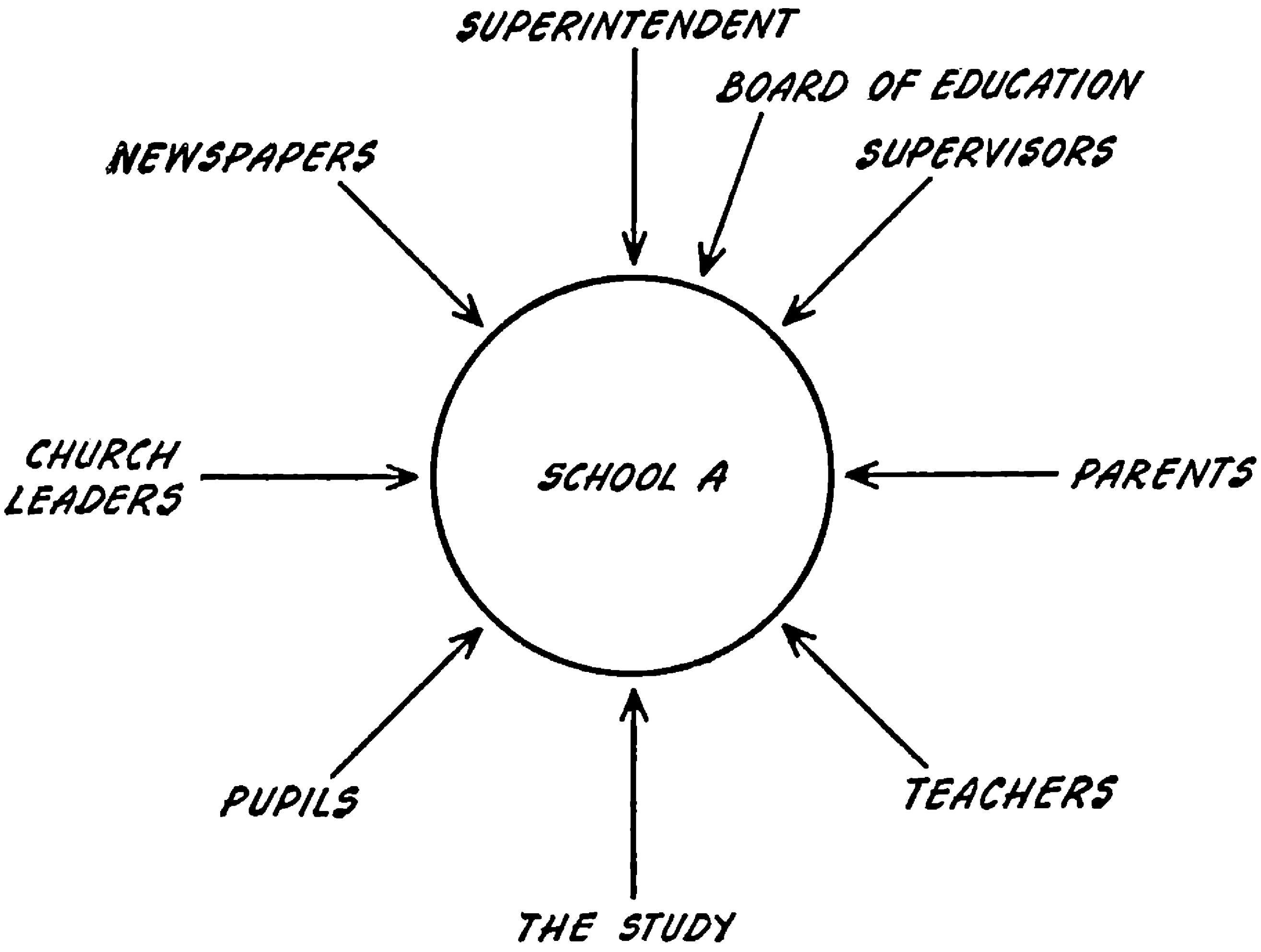


FIGURE 1.

A SCHOOL IS HELD IN POSITION BY SOCIAL FORCES

advanced a point of view which in retrospect seems to have gotten at some of the essential problems in bringing change in schools. He pointed out that a school is in effect held in a state of equilibrium by various social forces. Figure 1 illustrates a school held in position by these forces — together with the attempt of the Study to change the school.

As. Dr. Lewin pointed out, if School A is thought of as a balloon, the Study would have to push very hard to move the school even a little; and, perhaps, if the Board of Education, the Superintendent, the supervisors, the newspapers, or the parents were to indicate a desire for change by a release of pressures even a slight push from the Study might result in great change.

As one thinks back over the years of the Study, this equilibrium theory seems to have merit. Fears were expressed by principals, Staff members, and teachers on many occasions that a member of

the Board of Education might not approve, the Superintendent, an assistant, or the supervising principal would not like a particular idea, a supervisor would not approve of such a plan, or the newspapers might be critical. These fears, whether real or imaginary, brought a realization that social change needs to be directed not only at the participants in a school but at all those status persons who are holding schools in a state of equilibrium. Changing a school's citizenship education program involves changing many people.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data presented in this chapter lead to these conclusions:

1. The cooperative methods employed by the Study brought about significant changes in the citizenship education programs of the participating schools. There were changes in philosophy, organization, methods, and materials.

2. These changes in the citizenship programs improved the quality of citizenship of the boys and girls in the schools, based on the judgments of the majority of teachers and Staff members and the data from specific research projects.

3. The evidence from annual testing programs and from data on community influences of the schools indicated that there was no measurable improvement in the quality of citizenship.

4. The judgments of well-trained, thoughtful teachers were believed to supply worth-while evidence on the quality of the citizenship of students.

5. An annual testing program of graduating students, when combined with testing which measures the growth of the students or the class over a considerable length of time, warrants continued trial in evaluating citizenship.

6. The Study procedures showed no measurable differences on measures of the goodness of community life of the participating schools when compared with that of other schools. Data on arrests by the Police Department, broken street lights or school windows, interracial incidents, community-chest contributions and other similar social statistics are difficult to obtain and seem to have little

relationship to school activities. Voting and drop-out records from high schools may be exceptions to this general rule. Schools, by specific citizenship activities, seem to be able to increase the number of adults who vote; and the holding power of schools may be increased by an improved citizenship curriculum.

7. Appraisal should be a continuous process. The growth patterns of individuals and groups need to be studied periodically. Changes in citizenship qualities of individuals take place so slowly and over such long periods of time that schools need to make greater use of evaluative instruments and devices designed to give a long-time picture of a student. Six weeks, a semester, or a year are too short intervals for adequate evaluation of citizenship. Schools need to appraise students individually and collectively when they enter a school and again when they leave the school several years later.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion: Can Schools Develop Better Citizens?

The purpose of the Citizenship Education Study is to seek ways of increasing the understanding, interest, competence and participation of boys and girls in the activities of good citizens so that they will try to be active citizens throughout their lives.[1]

FIVE YEARS are infinitesimal in the history of mankind, but five years are a good many in the life of a teacher. Some persons entering the teaching profession do not teach as many as five years. Even for the old-timers five years are a sixth, or an eighth, or a tenth of one's career. In five years, could one learn how to increase the understanding, interest, competence, and participation of young people in the activities of good citizens?

This was the venture upon which the eight participating schools and the Staff embarked in 1945. What have we learned? How beneficial have our efforts been? What suggestions can we give other teachers who are anxious to produce effective citizens? Can schools develop better citizens than they have in the past?

These are the questions which confront us as we reach the end of a great adventure. We know we have discovered no penicillin or streptomycin. There is no pill that we can prescribe which will guarantee that John or Mary or Jim will vote regularly, pay his bills, treat people with respect, be loyal to democratic ideals, fight — and die if need be — for those ideals. Citizenship education is

[1] *The Citizenship Education Study,* p. 3.

still a complex, mysterious process shrouded from full vision. No X ray has yet penetrated into all the phases of educating good citizens.

In eight schools the Study Staff used the technique of living, working, observing, helping, and being helped. Ours was an intimate, personal type of action research. From our rich experiences we learned much. Sometimes, unfortunately, it was easier to learn about weaknesses than it was to correct them.

These intimate experiences with the schools led us to a recognition that the children and youth in the participating schools needed a type of help which they were not receiving. The need was for better procedures for emotional adjustment. This need has been described variously as better guidance, better mental hygiene or improved adult-child relationships. All those who lived and worked with the pupils became extremely conscious of the effects of modern industrial life on childhood. The nature of growing up was in constant conflict with the regimentation and restrictions of city life.

Children are a nation's greatest natural resource. Children could develop into finer, more useful adults if school, home, and community life were organized to assist them in their emotional development. Citizenship education programs in the future will have to be concerned increasingly with the adjustment problems of children and youth.

Citizenship education programs must be concerned with the nature of society as well as with the development of the individual. Ours is a democratic, representative society concerned with the liberty and freedom of each individual, but it is equally concerned about the general welfare.

The experiences of the Study indicate that the schools had evolved a well-organized, workable plan for teaching students about our way of life. The courses in government, history, literature, economics, geography, and world problems, as well as those emphasizing speaking and writing, provided most pupils with opportunities to obtain adequate knowledge. The weaknesses were not primarily in the knowledge area. The weaknesses were in the

lack of training for the use of knowledge in critical thinking, in the failure to provide sufficient opportunities for democratic participation, in the inability to teach boys and girls in such a way that concern for others was as powerful a motivating force as the personal drives and ambitions. The hope for better citizens, who understand society and perform their social obligations, lies not in increased emphasis on subject-matter as such, but on teaching procedures that stress participation and thinking and are consistent with the principles of good mental health.

The Study experiences indicate, also, that the social-political aspects of citizenship education did not seem to be as effective with girls as with boys. Here to a great degree, our culture is still predominant in the educative process. The advent of woman's suffrage gave promise of a better, more vigorous civic life for women. That promise is very slowly and gradually being fulfilled, but women are—with notable individual exceptions—still not as active as men in civic life. Girls in the schools seemed to be affected by traditional roles. The level of citizenship education in this country could be greatly improved if ways could be found to interest more school girls in social-political events.

One other general observation is pertinent. There were different citizenship problems in all the schools, but those schools in the lower-economic areas presented baffling educational problems. Children attending these schools, in terms of traditional middle-class standards, live rough, raw, tough lives. Survival depends on fighting back, on maturing early. Some youth come through this struggle to become outstanding citizens; many others drift or lose out in the struggle, developing into indifferent or bad citizens. Schools in blighted areas need special assistance in analyzing their school programs. Health problems are acute; housing problems are desperate; ways of using political forces are frequently not known; leadership is dormant; the experience is lacking to dream of a better life. Could a school curriculum be built to meet these needs? If education in the blighted areas of large cities could be vastly improved, the citizenship level in America would be lifted immeasurably.

From the many Study experiences come some definite conclusions. These conclusions are our best judgments on the basis of the available data. They are definite, it is hoped, in the sense of being clear and understandable, but not in the sense of being final. They represent our knowledge as of this moment, but the search for ways of producing good citizens must be continued by those who participated in the Study as well as by others who may gain new insight or stimulation from our efforts or from those efforts of the many others actively engaged today in improving citizenship education programs.

Stated specifically, the conclusions are:

1. The emotional adjustment of pupils is the most important factor in the quality of citizenship of boys and girls.

Poor citizenship results primarily from an inability on the part of the child to adjust satisfactorily to the various forces playing upon him. Our American society is very complex; urban society, in particular, places many frustrations in the way of the natural growth and development of the child. Each child has some fundamental needs — needs for love, friendship, success. The failure to satisfy these needs appears to be a primary cause of poor citizenship.

As schools began to accept responsibility for improving the emotional adjustment of pupils, five types of activity became prominent:

a. Newer type tests and pupil records were employed.

b. Increased attention was given to guidance procedures and programs from the kindergarten through the high school. The individual teacher became the key person in guidance. Specialists in guidance became helpers of teachers.

c. New courses and new units were developed in the areas of personal relations, personal standards, and home and family living.

d. Attempts were made to organize schools at all age levels so that the pupils remained with a teacher a longer time each day and had the same teachers for more than one semester.

e. In-service teacher-education programs were developed

which emphasized the growth patterns of children, the basic needs for love, friendship, and success, the effects of social climates, and the influence of the home and neighborhood environment on the child's behavior.

2. Schools are teaching effectively the ideals of American democracy, but there is need for greater understanding of democracy as a way of life and for participation in democratic activities.

Schools were most successful in using emotional appeals, such as the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag and the patriotic assembly programs. Schools were reasonably effective in teaching the structure and functioning of our American government, but not enough attention was given to helping pupils clarify their understanding of democracy. Most pupils thought solely in terms of their rights; few students gave equal regard to the duties required of a citizen in the family, the school, or the community. There was great variation among schools in the extent to which pupils were provided with opportunities to practice democracy through participation in a variety of school activities. Student participation in the government of the school seemed to be one of the most effective ways to insure concrete experience with problems of citizenship, but not all student councils were conducted in ways that gave pupils practice in, or understanding of, our representative system of government.

The mental health of a child appeared to have some relationship to his specific democratic attitudes. The unduly frustrated adolescent, for example, had a greater tendency toward anti-social, undemocratic attitudes.

As schools became concerned about teaching American ideals more effectively, they tried five major activities:

a. Teachers tried to restate the purposes of the school, as an outcome of their efforts to define democracy for themselves.

b. Teachers in the secondary schools tried to teach the meaning of democracy directly by developing units on democracy, by developing democratic criteria against which to test historical and contemporary events, by contrasting democracy with totalitarian

systems, and by more careful study of historic documents and the speeches of great leaders.

c. Student participation in democratic activities was improved by examining the purposes and procedures of student councils, clubs, safety patrols, cafeteria service, and other student organizations to insure that such activities were open to all school citizens, that social or economic status or scholarship standing was not intruding, and that adequate information was flowing from student groups to the entire school.

d. Undemocratic attitudes of students were studied to determine the social or psychological causes.

e. Efforts were made to improve the human relationships in the school by studying ways to eliminate tension and conflict.

3. Schools are not giving sufficient attention to the consideration of alternative solutions for social problems, to evaluating evidence, to analyzing propaganda, to critical thinking, to studying contemporary affairs.

Pupils were not as well informed about current affairs as seems required in a country where all may vote and share in decisions. Not enough time or attention was being devoted to the critical study of contemporary social issues. The direct experience of most Detroit pupils with social, civic, and economic institutions was meager. It appeared that children grew up in relatively isolated neighborhoods and did not have direct contact with many important places, such as factories and governmental agencies. Pupil knowledge of American history and government was reasonably good. Based on available data knowledge of economics was developing satisfactorily. The weighing of evidence, the interpretation of data, and the study of sources of information were neglected.

As schools tried to improve their teaching in these areas they explored seven activities:

a. For solving individual or social problems a systematic plan, based on the scientific method, was developed.

b. This plan was used in classes, in student councils, in clubs,

and with faculty groups. It was tried experimentally with slow learners.

c. Subject-matter courses were organized around significant problems.

d. Problem-solving procedures were substituted for formal parliamentary procedures in group situations.

e. Teachers and pupils planning their class work together became a more common experience.

f. Current-event papers, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets were used more freely. There was more willingness to discuss controversial issues.

g. More excursions were made into the community. More adults were invited to classes. School life became less remote from the life outside the school.

4. The effectiveness of schools as agents for citizenship education depends, in large degree, upon the unity and teamwork of the faculties and their willingness to seek improvement.

The quality of the relationship of the individual teacher to the individual pupil is the crucial factor in any citizenship program. This relationship was improved as educational leadership and cooperation developed within a school. Each school seemed to be a unique social organism with special problems needing solution. The solution of these depended on the mobilization of the faculty into a team with common purposes and consistent methods of treating children.

As schools attempted to unify their efforts, seven trends became common:

a. Committees of teachers were formed to solve specific problems. Eventually these committees were unified into a faculty steering committee which aided the principal with school plans.

b. Educational leadership appeared from teachers and from administrators. A closer working relationship developed between principals and teachers.

c. Work-groups of teachers spent much time in the solution of school citizenship problems.

d. Consultants were employed to give inspiration, to present new theories, and to give practical teaching aid.

e. Parents, teachers, and community leaders studied children's problems together. The school became part of the community, and the community became more involved in citizenship problems.

f. A new conviction about the importance of citizenship education became apparent among teachers, principals, and parents.

g. A greater faith developed that democratic procedures can solve problems. Teachers, too, became better citizens.

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